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THE CULTUS OF ST. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

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NOTES:

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS AND THE CAESAREAN
TEXT OF LUKE

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THE CULTUS OF ST. GREGORY THAUMATURGUS

W. TELFER

CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

Saint-cultus is an element which mingles in the subject-matter proper to historians, liturgiologists and archaeologists. Sometimes they are tempted to draw conclusions with regard to questions belonging to their own fields of study in dependence upon the estimate which they have formed of some hagiological situation. Only too often the hagiological situation differs in some way from their idea of it, and the conclusion which they have reached is accordingly unsound.

Saint-cultus most frequently represents a culture so foreign and remote from that of the modern student that it is on the face of it unlikely that his rough and ready judgments upon it will lie very near the truth. Moreover it is a fickle thing, dependent upon a host of circumstances. Only those who have made saint-cultus itself the subject of an extended, critical and

objective study can be in a position to say what sort of generalization can, and what cannot, be made about it. There is plentiful room, therefore, for exemplary exercises, which may help to demonstrate some of the characteristics of cult-history within the field of Christian hagiology. It does not appear that such exercises, carried out in detachment from any other than a general scientific interest, have yet been published. The present study claims to be such. It is offered as a pure piece of laboratory-work. Attempt is made to trace a particular saint-cultus through its entire history. The cultus is that of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, the apostle of Pontus and favourite pupil of Origen. It is well suited to the purpose, as being strictly localized, so that its history is free from excessive ramification.

The objective, at each stage, has been the unearthing of the relevant facts, the investigation of their mutual relations, and the elimination of *lacunæ* in the narrative. To such a task there is no end. But a halt has been called, and the matter brought to publication, at the point where new pieces of material coming to hand have proved merely to establish parts of an outline already continuous. It may be hoped therefore that the outline is substantially trustworthy.

It remains to be at a precise understanding as to the sense in which the term 'saint-cultus' shall be employed. When strictly used it should denote the carrying on of practices expressive of devotion to the saint, and desire for his help, in connection with particular places, objects, times and customs. Every canonized saint enjoys universal commemoration at set times, is known through a legend of general circulation and may be the object either of a private devotion or, for moral or historical reasons, of some special sectional interest. Such things do not constitute cultus. But it will be convenient to use the term with some elasticity, and apply it to situations in which nothing further is certain than that there existed some special localized interest in the saint. For where that is the case it may indicate that cultus in the stricter sense is either on the way or on the wane. It may, that is, be the surviving trace of a cultus that has died out, or alternatively, it may be ready itself, with favouring circumstances, to flower into cultus. In either case

it is relevant to the present study, and it is accordingly suitable to stretch the term 'cultus' to cover situations characterized by a comparatively vague evidence of local interest in our saint.

If in the story as it is now told, the reader does not at every stage find exactly the sort of thing he would have imagined, the fact may be pleaded as full and sufficient reason for telling the story. It will have been a 'getting to know.' And should it only have the negative result of rendering the student more cautious in handling such matters, it will still have been to some scholarly purpose.

I. THE CULTUS IN ITS ORIGINAL HOME

Of Gregory of Pontus, the young nobleman who appears as Origen's favourite pupil in the Caesarean period of his life, we have as good historical knowledge as of almost any Christian figure of his time. The congratulatory address¹ which he delivered upon some occasion in the Christian academy at Caesarea gives proof of his high culture and intellectual qualities, besides affording much information with regard to the circumstances of his upbringing. A later work, a Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes,² shews him to have been a competent exegete, characterized by practical sense and restraint. His Canonical Letter³ of advice to a brother bishop whose flock was in grave disorder consequent upon a Gothic incursion testifies his penetrating judgment and aptitude for leadership. The work *To Theopompus, On the impassibility of God*,⁴ and the short Trinitarian Creed that bears his name⁵ appear to be authentic works of our saint,⁶ and are evidence of his theological acumen.

¹ M.P.G. 10, 1051-1104.

² M.P.G. 10, 987-1018.

³ M.P.G. 10, 1019-1048.

⁴ J. B. Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, IV (1883), Syriac text, pp. 103-120; Latin version, pp. 363-376.

⁵ M.P.G. 46, 909-910.

⁶ So O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, II (1903), pp. 281-282 and 279-280, and N. I. Sagarda, *Svjatyj Grigórij Čudotvórec* (1916), pp. 326-340. With more reserve, as touching *To Theopompus*, A. Puech, *Histoire de la Littérature grecque Chrétienne*, II (1928), pp. 506-508. For the authenticity of the Creed, C. P. Caspari, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Glaubensregel* (1879), pp. 25-64, and L. Froidevaux, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, XIX (1929), pp. 193-247.

These, however, are not the traits by which he was most remembered in the church of Pontus. A century after his death a saga of wonder-tales kept his memory alive in the oral tradition of the Pontic countryside. The fact is known to us by means of a youthful work of Gregory of Nyssa.⁷ He apparently pronounced a panegyric on the saint in some Pontic church on the occasion of his yearly commemoration. It was not St. Gregory's own church of Neocaesarea, but is other wise unidentifiable. It would appear to have looked up to the church of Amasea and to have been near the sea.⁸ It may have been Ibora, the little town near which was the country mansion where Aemilia lived, the widowed mother of Basil and Gregory Nyssen. At any rate we have evidence of the spread of regular ecclesiastical commemoration of St. Gregory in the Pontic church within a century of his death. And the subject-matter of the Panegyric testifies to the growth of an untutored popular regard for the saint as Thaumaturge in advance of ecclesiastical action.

The existing text of the Panegyric much exceeds what Nyssen can have pronounced on the original occasion. The oration provided a beginning for a Life of the Thaumaturge, which later betrays the literary character of its composition.⁹ The work as a whole must therefore represent the knowledge which Nyssen possessed in his maturer years. The paucity of accurate historical information is surprising. For example, Nyssen supposes his hero to have studied under Origen in Alexandria,¹⁰ and is ignorant of the historical facts recorded by Eusebius as to the part played by St. Gregory in the life of the church outside Pontus. It is safe to say that some of the stories which Nyssen tells he does so for no other reason than that he considered them suitable to his theme. They had no previous connection with St. Gregory. For the rest, Nyssen has been at pains to collect what was told in Pontus. In spite of the fact that he has written it all up in accordance with his standards of rhetoric, it is possible to recognize the character of his material. One gem, in

⁷ M.P.G. 46, 893-958.

⁸ M.P.G. 46, 909 A and 897 C.

⁹ M.P.G. 46, 944 A.

¹⁰ M.P.G. 46, 904 A and 905 D.

the form of an eye-witness story of an exorcism performed at a rural fair,¹¹ shews up by contrast the vague and popular character of the remainder, which can be roughly separated into two classes, namely church-tradition and folk-tradition. To the former may be assigned the circumstances of St. Gregory's call to the episcopate, the missionary nature of his work, the planting of Christianity in Comana Pontica, the part which the saint played under a persecution and his almost complete conversion of the Pontic dales to Christianity, at least in name. To the latter belong stories of his driving out of the ancient gods, moving a great rock by a word, drying up a lake through prayer and preventing a river from flood by planting his staff. On the border-line are three stories representing the saint as Protector against plague, earthquake and the baleful power of demons in general. Basil bears a like testimony with Nyssen to the dual nature of Pontic traditions of St. Gregory.¹² Both men, in their more serious thoughts of him, view him as church-founder of their native land. But both men look indulgently on popular stories in which we must see, not the evidence of historic marvels, but an indication that the peasantry had given St. Gregory, in his character of Thaumaturge, a distinguished or even supreme place among their tutelary deities.

This was but a passing phase, which Nyssen recorded in the nick of time. Ecclesiastical control was growing stronger. After 381, the individuality of the Pontic church itself was fast merging into a Byzantine catholicism of the whole of Asia Minor. The battle which it was fighting in Basil's day to preserve its archaic 'Gregorian' institutions,¹³ was already a losing battle. Finally, the hagiology of a Byzantinized church overpowered the fame of the Thaumaturge, even in his own country. Soldier saints became the fashion.¹⁴ Even in Pontus, St. Theo-

¹¹ M.P.G. 46, 941 D.

¹² De Spiritu Sancto, 29 (M.P.G. 32, 203 C).

¹³ De Spiritu Sancto, 74 (M.P.G. 32, 208): οὐκοῦν οὐ πρᾶξιν τινα, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τύπον τινὰ μυστικόν, παρ' ὃν ἐκείνος κατέλιπε, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέθηκαν. ταύτη τοι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τελουμένων ἔλλειπῶς ἔχειν δοκεῖ διὰ τὸ τῆς καταστάσεως ἀρχαϊότροπον. And see Epp. 28, 207 and 210 (M.P.G. 32, 303-310, 764 and 772).

¹⁴ Père H. Delehaye gives an account of this in his *Légendes grecques des Saints militaires* (1909).

dore 'the General,' with his namesake and double 'the Tiro,' and the Forty Soldier Martyrs of Sebaste took first place in popular esteem, while the second passed to St. Chrysostom, St. Basiliscus and St. Basil.¹⁵ By this time there can be no question that the dalesmen's traditions of the Thaumaturge were dead.

It is more questionable how long they lived and how widely they spread. Some writers¹⁶ have supposed a cycle of oral tradition sufficiently durable and diffused to have inspired independently Nyssen's Panegyric, a Life in a sixth century Syriac codex in the British Museum,¹⁷ and the stories of the Thaumaturge which Rufinus adds to his translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.¹⁸ Certainly the problem of the relations of these three groups of stories is not to be solved entirely in terms of textual criticism. But a self-maintained oral cycle is not the sole alternative. A writing of so popular a description as Nyssen's Panegyric is certain to have given rise to wide dissemination of Thaumaturge-stories by word of mouth. The stories in Rufinus, even in their differences from corresponding stories in Nyssen, are not so independent as to make it improbable that their ultimate source is Nyssen's text. And the Syriac Life reproduces the whole range of Nyssen's material, which we have seen to be too mixed to be the product of one oral story cycle. When these facts are recognized, the probable extent of the original oral tradition contracts to the limits of Pontus and the transitory phase of semi-Christian culture in the midst of which Nyssen passed his youth. After that it is the influence of the Panegyric that predominates.

¹⁵ Op. cit., pp. 13-43, for the Theodores, whose legend connects them with Euchaita, while Basiliscus belongs to Comana. Chrysostom was buried at Comana.

¹⁶ Paul Koetschau, *Zur Lebensgeschichte Gregors des Wunderthäters*, in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLI (1898), pp. 211-250; Albert Poncelet, *La Vie Latine de saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge*, in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, I (1910), pp. 132-160.

¹⁷ Codex MCMXVIII, 2, add. 14648. A translation of the Syriac life into German was published by Victor Ryssel, *Eine syrische Lebensgeschichte des Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, in the *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz*, XI (1894), pp. 228-254. The ms. is described in Wright's catalogue of Syriac mss. in the British Museum, p. 1091.

¹⁸ The stories are an addendum to Book VII, c. 28. The text is given in Eusebius, II, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, edited by E. Schwartz, 1903.

So far the most advanced cult-interest is scarcely Christian, but a more ecclesiastical and regular observance is in being. Of this the natural centre was Neocaesarea, and its particular home the episcopal church. This actual building was believed to be the work of the Thaumaturge, and it possessed a relic of special importance in the form of his autograph of the Trinitarian Creed which, according to Nyssen, was revealed to him in a vision by St. John Evangelist at the bidding of the Virgin Mary.¹⁹ Already when Nyssen wrote, the Neocaesareans believed in the miraculous survival of the original church building in an earthquake that had wrecked the city.²⁰ As he tells the story, the miracle was a work of God, testifying to the merit of His illustrious servant. The popular belief is certain to have been more frankly superstitious. It will have been a localized numinous power of the saint himself, clinging to a place with which he was so particularly identified, which defeated the demonic power of the earthquake, and preserved the sacred building intact. Such localization of numinous power in a sacred building is a commonplace of all religions. The spiritual conceptions of orthodox Christianity might seem to preclude it. But it found its way into Christianity none the less. The regard in which the resting-places of the martyrs were held formed the thin end of a wedge. It extended, in course of time, to the tombs of any saints. And when this stage had been established for some time, a reversed sequence began to appear. The localization of the cult-interest in a place, such as the church at Neocaesarea, did not give full satisfaction, and only found it through the invention of a tomb, and finally corporeal relics. This process seems to have fulfilled itself at Neocaesarea with regard to the Thaumaturge. But the first step towards a demonstration is to shew that the tomb of the Thaumaturge was not known from the first to be in the episcopal church. The matter has importance for the whole of the subsequent history.

Nyssen proves that no tomb of the Thaumaturge was known in his day, either in the church at Neocaesarea or elsewhere. He does so in relating that the saint, as he saw the hour of his

¹⁹ M.P.G. 46, 915 B.

²⁰ M.P.G. 46, 924 C.

death approaching, gave orders to his followers that his body should be buried in a common grave.²¹ An edifying reason is given. The saint, whose pride in life was to have no place on earth that bore his ownership, would likewise in death have no resting-place that bore his name. It is not necessary to the argument that the story should have any historical foundation. Its theme is found in other contexts,²² and belongs to the 'philosophic' type which Nyssen clearly regards as appropriate to his hero.²³ That would have been sufficient justification in his eyes for its inclusion. But it is incredible that it should have kept its place in the text if the tomb of the Thaumaturge was well known. And the choice is between being well known and not known at all. St. Gregory had, as Nyssen relates, organized the commemoration of the Pontic martyrs in connection with their tombs,²⁴ and used it as a means of loosing the hold of the old pagan festivals upon the converts. It is most unlikely that his own entombment should have seemed and remained a matter of no concern to his people. The simplest solution is therefore to accept the substantial historicity of what Nyssen asserts, namely that the Thaumaturge deliberately went about to prevent himself from being ranked with the martyrs after his death, by arranging for the disposal of his body in such a way as to preclude its veneration by the people. This, in fact, is what Nyssen implies. He pictures the saint as saying: *ἔστω τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ διήγημα, ὅτι Γρηγόριος οὔτε ζῶν ἐπωνομάσθη τόπῳ τινί, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον, ἀλλοτρίων τάφων ἐγένετο πάροικος. πάσης τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ κτήσεως ἑαυτὸν ἀποστήσας, ὥς μηδὲ ἐνταφῆναι ἰδίῳ καταδέξασθαι τόπῳ.*²⁵ The reader may well ask himself what it means to be

²¹ M.P.G. 46, 956 A.

²² It occurs in the Syriac Testament of St. Ephraem Syrus. For the text, see J. S. Assemani, *Ephraem Syri Opera Omnia*, II (1743), pp. 399–400. For the authenticity of this part of the Testament see Mgr. Lamy in *Compte Rendu du IVme Congrès Scientifique de Catholiques* (1898), p. 202, and R. Duval in *Le Journal Asiatique* (1901), pp. 234–242. In the Funeral Oration on St. Ephraem attributed to Nyssen the passage from the Testament is reproduced in a form which very closely resembles the passage in the Panegyric. It runs *μη ἰδίᾳ τῷ σώματί μου τάφον ἐργάσησθε, λόγον γὰρ ἔχω μετὰ θεοῦ αὐλισθῆναι με σὺν τοῖς ξένοις* (M.P.G. 46, 837 D).

²³ For this trait in Nyssen's writing, see L. Méridier, *L'Influence de la Seconde Sophistique sur Grégoire de Nysse* (1906), c. xv.

²⁴ M.P.G. 46, 953 B.

²⁵ M.P.G. 46, 956.

a temporary occupant of strange tombs, and to have no place of your own in which to be buried. The phrases do not suit with mere obscurity or oblivion as hiding the saint's grave from the knowledge of posterity, or the supposition that he was away from Pontus at the time of his death and was buried in a strange land.

Their explanation must be sought in the peculiar burial customs of North Pontus, which have persisted through the ages. The practice was already general at the beginning of the Christian era, not to bury in earth, but to cut slots or *loculi* in the horizontal (sometimes in the vertical) face of the rock, each large enough to take a human body and allow for the superposition of a stone slab, and to lay the dead in these.²⁶ And although the Turks introduced their normal custom of burial in earth into this country, the Greeks and Armenians have gone on using rock slots instead of graves down to modern times. Present customs have been described by the American missionary, H. J. van Lennep,²⁷ who worked for thirty years in this district in the late nineteenth century. He says, "The Greek churches have their surrounding courts or yards paved with large slabs, each of which is a grave which has served the purpose many times before, the old bones being each time collected and placed in a vault built for that purpose." At no period can the poor people have been in the habit of hewing out new rock-tombs for their dead. Something like the modern custom of the Greek Orthodox must have been followed, if with less reverence for the remains of the dead. Poor people must have sought out old tombs in which the remains were decayed away, and used them again. Thus to be buried as the poor are buried in Pontus is to be *ἀλλοτρίων τάφων πάροις*. Nyssen's phrases therefore mean, not only that he did not know where the mortal remains of the Thaumaturge had been laid, but that they had long ago been dissipated and lost. With this belief, substantiated by the contemporary facts, in his mind, he may well have adopted a 'philosophic' moralizing story to explain them, which had no actual historical connection with the saint.

²⁶ See J. G. C. Anderson and F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, I (1903), p. 67 and *passim*.

²⁷ *Travels in little-known parts of Asia Minor*, II (1870), p. 288.

The significance of this passage in the Panegyric is illustrated by the difficulty which it has presented to the minds of various readers. We may take first the scribe who copied the Panegyric into codex Coislinianus 105, now at Paris.²⁸ He was a monk of the monastery called "Εγκλειστρα in the island of Cyprus, and lived in the twelfth century. He decided to move the story of a plague, which Nyssen added as an appendix, into the body of the narrative,²⁹ and conclude with the story of the saint giving orders for his burial. In making this change in the order, he took the opportunity to drop the word *τάφων* from the phrase *ἀλλοτρίων τάφων ἐγένετο πάροιχος*, together with the word *κτήσεως* in the clause following. The words of the saint thus become: *ἔστω τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ διήγημα, ὅτι Γρηγόριος οὔτε ζῶν ἐπωνομάσθη τόπῳ τινί, καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἀλλοτρίων ἐγένετο πάροιχος, πάσης τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν ἀποστήσας ὡς μηδὲ ἐνταφῆναι ἰδίῳ καταδέξασθαι τόπῳ*: so that the recital is directed simply at emphasizing the virtue of detachment in the saint.³⁰ There is no longer any suggestion of the impossibility of a known tomb, or of corporeal relics. And the motive of the change may have been that the idea of the non-existence of relics was unacceptable.

The story, when retold in versions and paraphrases, has invariably lost the point of *ἀλλοτρίων τάφων ἐγένετο πάροιχος*. The Latin Life based on Nyssen³¹ renders the passage 'In alienis vitam duxit ut peregrinus. Caro ejus extincta in alieno recubit antro.' The Syriac Life omits the episode. The modern Greek Synaxary³² speaks of the *ξένον μνημεῖον* in which the saint was to be buried, as contrasted with a *τάφος κεχωριστός*; a paraphrase which reproduces the idea of being buried in a tomb that be-

²⁸ H. Omont, *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Graecorum in Bibliotheca Nationali Parisiensi* (1896), p. 289.

²⁹ Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana* (1715), pp. 78-80. Montfaucon is corrected by Gallandius (*Bibl. Vet. Patr.* III, p. 466) in his supposition that the anecdote is peculiar to this ms. It is so, only in its position and omissions.

³⁰ *ἀλλοτρίων τάφων* is another example of the 'plural of vagueness,' and may be translated 'of some tomb made for another.' The omission of *τάφων* leaves *ἀλλοτρίων πάροιχος* as a colourless phrase continuing the idea of 'stranger and sojourner' *μετὰ θάνατον*.

³¹ In *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, III (1877), *florilegium*, p. 179.

³² K. C. Doukakes, *Μέγας Συναξαρίστης*, XI (1895), p. 408, based on the Παράδεισος of Agapius, monk of Crete, 1797.

longed to someone else before, but not that of being displaced in turn to make room for another. In short, the remarkable character of Nyssen's statement is emphasized by the fact that none of those who set themselves to reproduce his work was able or willing to reproduce him at this particular point. And the fact remains that a century after St. Gregory's death, no one knew of corporeal relics or the place of his tomb.

By 500 A.D., the lack of a tomb had been supplied. Theodore the Lector recounts a strange tale³³ which may be its 'invention-legend.' A soldier journeying eastwards to the Persian campaign of Anastasius I was passing through Neocaesarea when he heard one in the guise of an officer say to two soldiers (or so they appeared) ahead of him that they should spare the church (which they were passing) *ἐν ᾧ ἡ θήκη Γρηγορίου ἐστὶ*. Shortly afterwards Neocaesarea was wrecked by an earthquake. But once more the church of the Thaumaturge survived intact. As Theodore heard the story in Constantinople, both officer and soldiers were angels, about to execute the divine sentence upon the city of Neocaesarea. And it was the presence in the church of the *θήκη* of the Thaumaturge that caused it to be excepted from the general destruction. So now there was a tomb and the possibility of relics. St. Gregory as founder-saint lay buried in the episcopal church. In later days this church had become a building 'of stupendous size.'³⁴ When, in 1068, it was sacked by Melik Ghazi,³⁵ it had attached to it 700 monks. But today the cult of the Thaumaturge has no longer a centre in his own city. There are no distinguishable ruins of the church

³³ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book II, c. 54 (M.P.G. 86i, 209). Perhaps because earthquakes are a boon to chronographers, the story was repeated; by the early 9th century Theophanes, *Chronographia*, M.P.G. 108, 346 B; the 11th century George Cedrenus, *Historiae Compendium*, M.P.G. 121, 684; and Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, Dynasty VIII, edited by P. J. Bruns and G. G. Kirsch (1789), II (Latin version), p. 80. In Sir E. A. W. Budge's *Chronography of Abul Faraj* (1932), I, (English version), p. 73, the translation is given as 'when Neocaesarea was overwhelmed, besides the church of St. Gregory' — which can hardly represent the original text.

³⁴ *The travels of Macarius of Antioch*, by Paul of Aleppo, 1682, edited and translated by F. C. Belfour (1836), II, (English version), p. 439. Macarius' party dared not enter Neocaesarea, and only saw ruins from a distance.

³⁵ F. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, I, p. 261.

to be seen. And his very name has only survived locally in the dedications of one or two chapels and village churches in the neighbourhood.³⁶ Since the Great War it is probable that not a trace of the memory of the apostle of Pontus remains in the land.

II. CONSTANTINOPLE

Long before the fall of Neocaesarea, cult-interest in our saint had started its westward progress. Theodore Lector's story shews that when the sixth century opened St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was known and honoured in Constantinople. Actually the beginnings of such knowledge can be pushed back over a century. We find Gregory Nazianzen, in 380, preaching in the Chapel of the Anastasia and quoting from the Revealed Creed, of which Nyssen's Panegyric gives us the text,¹ in two of his sermons. Or. XXXI c. 27 uses the formula *τις τῶν μικρῶ πρόσθεν θεοφόρων ἐφιλοσόφησεν*.² The formula is rhetorical; and it would be wrong to infer that at that time Gregory of Neocaesarea was unknown by name to the churchmen of Constantinople. The same may be said of the formula used in Or. XL c. 42, *ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν τινος λέγοντος*.³ Fifty years later, there ceases to be any question that the fame of our saint was established in the capital city. When the monks of Constantinople presented a protest against the novel doctrine of their Patriarch, Nestorius, to Theodosius II, by the hand of Basil the Deacon, they asserted that in their faith *τῇ ὁμοουσίῳ τριάδι* they followed Irenaeus, and Gregory, the great bishop of Neocaesarea.⁴ It is probable that the selection of the latter name owes something to Nazianzen. But during the intervening half-century, Nyssen also had been at Constantinople. His eloquence was, as Tixeront says,⁵ 'assez goûtée' in the royal city, and the Panegyric, for all its youthfulness (and perhaps not

³⁶ V. Cuinet, *La Turquie en Asie*, p. 733, and *Travels of Macarius*, II, p. 442.

¹ M.P.G. 46, 912 D.

² M.P.G. 36, 164 D.

³ M.P.G. 36, 420 A.

⁴ J. D. Mansi, *Concilia*, IV (1760 ed.), p. 1101.

⁵ J. Tixeront, *Précis de Patrologie* (1918), p. 235.

the less for that), was in the taste of the time. From 430 the Panegyric seems to have had its place in the known literature of the capital. Socrates and Sozomen were writing there, just subsequently, and each goes into a digression to say something about the Thaumaturge, in terms that indicate not only that his name and character were well known, but that the subject excited interest.

In Sozomen, it arises from a story about St. Epiphanius of Salamis, and two beggars who tried to deceive the saint by a ruse, and were supernaturally punished.⁶ Sozomen acknowledges that it is the identical miracle related of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus with regard to two Jews who tried to deceive him.⁷ *πυνθάνομαι τεθauματουργήσθαι Γρηγορίῳ τῷ θαυμασίῳ* (Nyssen's usual epithet is *ὁ μέγας*) *ὃς πάλαι τὴν Νεοκαισάρειαν ἐπετρόπευσε*. He proceeds to argue that the coincidence does not shake faith in either story. Now Sozomen came from Palestine to Constantinople in adult life, and his Epiphanius stories are likely to have been acquired in Palestine. We can therefore, with probability, interpret *πυνθάνομαι*, written at Constantinople, as acknowledging that it was there that he first came to know that the same story was told about the Thaumaturge as he had previously heard told of St. Epiphanius. And so close is the parallelism between his telling of his Epiphanius story and moral reflection upon it, with that of Nyssen about St. Gregory, that his acquaintance with the text of the Panegyric is the likeliest explanation. Socrates, on the other hand, was a citizen of the capital by birth. His reference to the Thaumaturge arises from the fact that he has had occasion in a chapter about the Capadocian fathers to mention Nyssen, and note the fact that there is confusion in people's minds between the three Gregor-ys. He accordingly breaks the thread of his narrative to interpose a short chapter summarizing the facts about the earlier Gregory.⁸ Nearly every sentence contains an error, and it would be unsafe to dogmatize as to the sources of his informa-

⁶ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book VII, c. 27 (M.P.G. 67, 1501).

⁷ Narrated in Nyssen's Panegyric, M.P.G. 46, 939 C.

⁸ *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book IV, c. 27 (M.P.G. 67, 536).

tion. He refers to St. Gregory 'Thaumaturgus' Panegyric on Origen (ὁ συστατικὸς λόγος Γρηγορίου εἰς Ὀριγένην) and Pamphilus' Defence of Origen (Ἐἰς Ὀριγένην). He does not mention Nyssen's Panegyric on the Thaumaturge and his references to the miracles of the saint are hardly to be reconciled with his ever having seen the text. At the same time they could conceivably be the result of a second-hand acquaintance with the gist of it.

What Socrates, whose opening sentence, *περὶ τούτου τοῦ Γρηγορίου, πολὺς ὁ λόγος ἐν τε Ἀθήναις καὶ Βηρυτῶ καὶ ὅλη τῇ Ποντικῇ διοικήσει, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*, warns us that he is not recording accurate information, tells us is that the Thaumaturge was recalled from Caesarea to Pontus by his parents, and began at once his life of thaumaturgy: *λαϊκὸς ὢν, πολλὰ σημεῖα ἐποίησε, νοσοῦντας θεραπεύων, καὶ δαίμονας δι' ἐπιστολῶν φυγαδεύων, καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνίζοντας τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ πλεον τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγόμενος*.

We may wonder if this is something from Pamphilus, otherwise lost. But it is more likely to be just Nyssen's Panegyric, at vague second-hand. Nyssen tells of *one* miracle wrought by the saint before the days of his ministry and that at Alexandria and not in Pontus. And when Socrates puts it in the plural, *πολλὰ*, it may not betoken knowledge of miracles unknown to us, but just that what knowledge he had was altogether nebulous. We get just the same 'vague plurals' in Basil's mention of the Thaumaturge in *De Spiritu Sancto*,⁹ where we read that he 'turned the course of rivers.' There is very little probability that Basil had more in his mind than the Lycus-miracle, told in Nyssen's Panegyric, where the planting of the saint's staff in the river bank compels the Lycus to keep within its course.¹⁰ He may have heard more than one version of the story. But even so, it is Nyssen and not he that had most knowledge. Still more in the case of Socrates must we make full allowance for 'the plural of vagueness.' *δαίμονας δι' ἐπιστολῶν φυγαδεύων*¹¹ can well be just the famous 'Gregory to Satan, enter' story,¹² pre-

⁹ M.P.G. 32, 203 C.

¹¹ M.P.G. 67, 536 C.

¹⁰ M.P.G. 46, 930.

¹² M.P.G. 46, 916 D.

sented in this form. And τοὺς Ἑλληνίζοντας τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ πλέον τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγόμενος rings so true to the general impression that Nyssen labours to create as to suggest that it is the Panegyric that lies at the back of Socrates' ideas. The 'Protest of the monks,' Sozomen, and Socrates together justify the conclusion that in Constantinople, about 430, Nyssen's Panegyric was known, and a loose acquaintance with the fact of a wonder-working bishop called Gregory, and with the sort of story told about him, was fairly general. Again, in 448, the ἀντίγραφος of Eusebius of Dorylaeum against Eutyches alleges that he makes ὁ μέγας Γρηγόριος a heretic, meaning the Thaumaturge.¹³

Another century, and Thaumaturgus had become an established title of St. Gregory. Theodore the Lector, in the story to which reference has been made, speaks of 'the house of the Thaumaturge' being saved from earthquake.¹⁴ Severus of Antioch, in a letter in justification of the reading of the Lives of Saints in church, written between 513 and 518, translates the title into Syriac. The letter gives evidence of Constantinopolitan practice. Severus says, 'The Panegyric that was delivered upon Gregory Thaumaturgus we ourselves have known to be read in many churches, even in the royal city itself.'¹⁵ Severus also composed a hymn in honour of the Thaumaturge, and acknowledges Nyssen's Panegyric as his source.¹⁶

By the early years of the sixth century, as appears from the evidence of Severus, and the Syriac Life of the Thaumaturge, the saint had begun to occupy an established place in the hagiography of the Eastern church. He is commemorated, with a lection, in most of the Synaxaries of Eastern churches.¹⁷ But in

¹³ E. Schwartz, *Prozess des Eutyches*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1929, p. 12.

¹⁴ M.P.G. 861, 209. The church is called οἶκος τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ.

¹⁵ The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus of Antioch edited and translated by E. W. Brooks (1903), p. 393.

¹⁶ *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII (Hymn 182), p. 643.

¹⁷ See N. Nilles, *Kalendarium utriusque Ecclesiae* (1896), which instances the Syrian Orthodox, Syro-Maronites, Armenians, Copts, Malabar Christians, Ruthenian Catholics, and Serbs. Also J. Forget, *Synaxarium Alexandrinum* (1921, in Arabic), and Sir Wallis Budge, *Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, I, pp. 266, 267.

this matter the imperial capital seems to have taken a lead. In explanation of this fact, we may distinguish three ways in which St. Gregory appealed to the regard and sentiment of the metropolis. There was first the theological appeal. This was not through his writings, which do not seem to have been widely known, but simply on the strength of the Revealed Creed, as given in Nyssen's Panegyric. It is possible that Nazianzen had a great deal to do with this. For his work of organizing the recovery of Trinitarian orthodoxy in the capital, and especially as against the Macedonian heresy, appeal to the Revealed Creed was particularly opportune. For that age, the explicit testimony of holy men that the Creed had been communicated in a vision by St. John Evangelist in the presence and at the command of the Theotokos placed it in an unquestioned and unique position. It could be represented as anticipating the faith of the Three Hundred and Eighteen, and as the most venerable of all *formulae* of Trinitarian faith since the days of the apostles. It is not likely that the two citations of the Revealed Creed which have come down to us in Nazianzen's extant sermons are all that his people heard of it, or of its author. And it is a fact that the Revealed Creed of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus keeps reappearing in the theological and conciliar records of Constantinople, all down the centuries. Sometimes its influence appears through appeals made to the Apollinarian *spuria*, especially the formula called *κατὰ μέρος πίστις* which came to be circulated under the name of the Thaumaturge; as when the Monophysites called to conference with Justinian in 533 claimed the authority of St. Gregory for their doctrine.¹⁸

Direct evidence for the authority of the Revealed Creed appears in the Bibliotheca Palatina MS. of the Acts of the synod held at Constantinople under Mennas in 536 against the Acephali, where that creed, under the title *ἐκθεσις πίστεως καὶ ἀποκάλυψις Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Νεοκαισαρείας* stands at the head of a collection of dogmatic pronouncements concerned with the cur-

¹⁸ J. Harduin, *Conciliorum Collectio*, II (1715), 1162. But it would be untrue to represent this plea as dressed to please Constantinople. It was a regular part of the Severian case. See R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse* (1924), *passim*, for the use made of the pseudo-Gregory by the party.

rent controversy.¹⁹ Clearly the *ἐκθεσις* did not bear on the Monophysite issue, but its inclusion is a gesture which gained significance perhaps from the fact that the chief enemy was Anthimus of Trebizond in the metropolitanate of Neocaesarea. Caspari has summarized a succession of other citations of our Creed in his *Alte und neue Quellen*.²⁰ The great period of citation, however, lies late. It was during the controversies of the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries on the Procession of the Spirit, that the Creed, seeming to favour the Oriental view, became the object of great interest. The phrase *ἐκὼν τοῦ Ὑιοῦ τελείου τελεία* was held to go contrary to the *filioque* clause.²¹ The pro-Western Greek writers of the fourteenth century took the contrary view, but accepted the Revealed Creed as the necessary basis for argument.²²

The importance of the Creed helped to make the story of its origin particularly well known and beloved, and in this way our saint came to be associated with the Theotokos in the minds of the literate public of the capital. This appears in the tenth-century Chronicle of Miracles belonging to the church of the Theotokos called *τῆς πηγῆς*, which has been preserved and embodied in the life of St. Euphrosyna the Younger by Nicephorus Callistus.²³ It tells that there came to the church *πρωτοσπαθάριός τις, γενόμενος τὰ ἔνδον ὑπόπνους*, who proceeded to incubate there. *Ἐν μιᾷ τῶν νυκτῶν αὐτὴν ἐκείνην τὴν θεομήτορα ὥσπερ ἑώρα*

¹⁹ S. Binius, *Concilia*, IV (1636), p. 146. Harduin and Mansi do not print the Palatina collection of documents. The Dictionary of Christian Biography, s.v. Gregory Thaumaturgus, wrongly cites this as referring to the Fifth Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in 553, whereas it belongs to the Fifth Session of the Council held under Mennas in 536.

²⁰ C. P. Caspari, *Quellen* (1879), pp. 4-7, footnotes. He does not note the use by Macarius of Antioch, at the Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 680, of the Revealed Creed, see Mansi, XI, 351.

²¹ For example, Johannes Veccius, In Camateri animadversiones (M.P.G. 141, 577), and Nicetas Choniates, *Liber Thesauri*, II, 32 (M.P.G. 139, 1168).

²² For example, Constantine Meliteniota, *De Processione Sancti Spiritus*, *Oratio I* (M.P.G. 140, 1060), and Georgius Metochites, *Contra Manuelem Cretensem* (M.P.G. 140, 1389).

²³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Tomus Novembris III, p. 880. The date of this *libellus* is discussed on p. 860. To the same century belongs the *De Thematibus* of Constantine Porphyrogenetes, which names the Thaumaturge as one of the 'seven stars' of Cappadocia, distinguishing Neocaesarea as his town (M.P.G. 113, 94).

κοσμίως βαδίζουσιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν κατέχουσιν τὸν θεολόγον Γρηγόριον ἐπιφερόμενον ποτήριον ἱερόν, κατὰ δὲ θάτερον μέρος τὸν ὁμώνυμον τούτῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων δεξάμενον τὴν ἐπίκλησιν. The Theotokos called upon St. Gregory Theologus to give the sufferer a taste of the contents of his cup and he was cured. The resemblance to the scene which Nyssen gives in the story of the Revealed Creed is obvious.²⁴

The second interest to which our saint appealed was the monastic interest. On Nyssen's shewing, the Thaumaturge was worthy to be remembered with the fathers of the desert and counted a principal founder of the ascetic life. Nyssen knew very little about his hero's life previous to his episcopate. He wrote in the days when he himself was living as an enthusiastic member of the ascetic community established by his brother Basil at Annesoi in Pontus and he had his ideal of an *encomium* to fulfil. It seems probable that he drew upon the personal history of his brother and his brother's friend Gregory Nazianzen to supply the required sketch of the youth and upbringing of the saint.²⁵ He pictured the Thaumaturge on his return to Pontus as going likewise into the wilds to practise the ascetic life. Fifth-century Constantinople had no misgivings as to the historicity of the picture. In the eyes of the monks of the capital it vouched for the Thaumaturge as a founder-saint of the monastic life. After the ecclesiastico-political estrangement of the ancient centres of the ascetic tradition, in Egypt and Syria, from the church of the imperial city, the latter naturally relished the thought of an equally venerable home of monastic life within fully Byzantine territory. This fact may explain the attribution to St. Gregory of certain ascetic homilies of ancient authorship;²⁶ as also the fact that Maximus the Confessor as-

²⁴ M.P.G. 46, 908.

²⁵ See, e.g., the picture of the approach of the principal men of the city to Gregory to be master of the city school (cf. Basil, Ep. ccx, Par 2) or of the disdain of the Athenian-taught youth for a country bishop, Alexander of Comana (cf. Vita Macrinae account of Basil on his return home). The descriptions of the turning from the world to the desert by Gregory (in the Panegyric) and Basil (in the Funeral Oration) are altogether parallel.

²⁶ See M. Jugie, Les Homilies Mariales attribuées à Saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIII (1925), pp. 86-95; and J. Pitra, *Analecta*, III, pp. 122-169, 377-412.

sumes that St. Gregory must, as the inspired leader of his age, have been president of the council that condemned Paul of Samosata.²⁷

Another way in which the monastic interest in the saint shewed itself was in the composition of liturgical hymns in his honour. Pitra prints an anonymous hymn in the style of the *Studium* which epitomizes the Panegyric,²⁸ and a short verse from the menological *Tropologium Corsinum*, expressing simply the commonplace ascetic theme ἀμελεῖ τῶν παρόντων;²⁹ also a hymn by Joseph the Hymnary giving the most impressive utterance to the regard of Byzantine monachism for the Thaumaturge, whom it apostrophizes as στυλὸς καὶ κόσμος πάντων τῶν μοναστῶν.³⁰ Leo Allatius notes among the *scripta inedita* of Michael Psellus a hymn to the Thaumaturge headed πρὸς τὸν πρωτοσύγγelon, περὶ τοῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ, and commencing Μὴ θαυμάσης, ὁ ἐμός μουσηγέτης, εἰ τορὸν τι καὶ λαμπρὸν φθέγξομαι.³¹ Two centuries later, Nicephorus Blemmides, archimandrite of the monastery of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus at Ephesus,³² but brought up at Constantinople, wrote two hymns in honour of the saint. They are preserved in the Oxford codex Barroccianus 131.³³ A hymn of unknown date stands in the modern *Μήναιον*, and expresses the more popular conception of the Thaumaturge as Protector;³⁴ a conception most strikingly epitomized in the hymn in his honour composed by Theodore of Studium, in the phrase ἀπεκδιώκεις δαιμόνων σμήνη, πάτερ.³⁵

The note here sounded finds expression in another, less reputable class of literature, in connection with St. Gregory. This

²⁷ M.P.G. 90, 147.

²⁸ *Analecta*, I, p. 608.

²⁹ *Analecta*, I, p. 666.

³⁰ *Analecta*, II, p. 393.

³¹ In *Diatriba de Psellis*, M.P.G. 122, 520 A.

³² See the letter of Blemmides in M.P.G. 142, 606.

³³ See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (1853). The codex is 14th century. Item 152 is a Canon, with the Incipit ταῖς τῶν λόγων σοῦ πλόκαις published by J. B. Bury in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, VI (1895), pp. 531-537. Item 154 is a hymn with the heading εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον τὸν θαυματουργόν with the Incipit Μωσῆν, πάτερ σοφέ, σε γινώσκουμεν, published by A. Heisenberg, in the Teubner edition of Blemmides (1895), pp. 127 ff.

³⁴ Text and translation in G. B. Woodward, *Hymns of the Greek Church* (1921).

³⁵ Hymn lxviii, M.P.G. 99, 1798.

is the literature of exorcisms and semi-magical prayers for warding off evil spirits. It can safely be said that Constantinople was a great propagation centre for such writings. And in them the Thaumaturge figures as one of a small number of favourite Helpers against the evil demons. In a certain number of these prayers or spells the *πνευματοδίδωξ* is named as St. Gregory Theologus, which one might naturally suppose to be Nazianzen, but it is probable that the Thaumaturge is meant. There seems to have been a conscious attempt to apply the title Theologus to the Thaumaturge, possibly as being the recipient of the Revealed Creed. The line of argument may be gathered from the Commentary of the eleventh-century Elias Cretensis on the Orations of St. Gregory Nazianzen, where, in noting the reference in Oratio XXXI to the Revealed Creed, Elias says of the Thaumaturge, *ὄντινα καὶ ὡς θεοφόρον ἐξυμνεῖ ὁ θεόπνευστος οὗτος καὶ ὁμώνυμος*.³⁶ Blemmides heads one of the hymns which he wrote in honour of the patron-saint of his monastery, *εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Γρηγόριον τὸν Θεολόγον*,³⁷ and in the fourth section of the hymn justifies the application of this title to the saint on the ground that he learned his doctrine from *Ἰωάννης ὁ βροντόπαις*, Theologus *par excellence*. Such a practice encouraged, what needed no encouragement, the confusion of the two saints called Gregory, both *διαβόητοι* in Constantinople. There are plentiful examples of mere ignorant or careless confusion in which the Thaumaturge receives the epithet Nazianzen, as in the headings of copies of the Panegyric contained in the codices R. 11-7, and γ. III. 16 of the Library of the Escorial.³⁸

Supposing that in the first instance the Thaumaturge became a reputed Helper against evil spirits, it may be taken as certain that texts would presently have appeared in which he was described as Theologus or even Nazianzen. And when we find, as is the case, a considerable group of *ἀφορκισμοί* connected with the name of Gregory, most often qualified as Thaumaturgus, but sometimes as Theologus, it is fairly safe to assume that the Thaumaturge is the *πνευματοδίδωξ* all through. And in this case

³⁶ M.P.G. 36, 901.

³⁷ See note 33 above.

³⁸ See B. E. C. Miller, *Ms. grecs de l'Escorial* (1848), pp. 19, 289.

he takes rank among the most notable Helpers against the evil demons.

At the upper end of the scale, in this class of literature, stands the splendid and sonorous form of exorcism in the Orthodox *Ἐυχολόγιον* known as the exorcism of St. Basil. Yet this actual prayer stands in the *Ἐυχολόγιον* in the codex Barberini Graecus 78 of the Vatican Library headed with the name, not of St. Basil, but of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.³⁹ Under the same name, and at the other end of the scale, is a pagan incantation *κατὰ τῆς ἄβρας*, turned to Christian use in this way.⁴⁰ The library of the Laura on Mt. Athos yields *ἀφορκισμοί* under the name of the Thaumaturge in three of its codices.⁴¹ A volume of miscellanies compiled by Constantine Lascaris, now at Madrid, has two *ἀφορκισμοί* under the name of our saint, and two more attributed to 'St. Gregory Theologus.'⁴² A compilation of the same period at the Bodleian contains five prayers, one with the same attribution and the other four under the name of the Thaumaturge.⁴³ One of these is an exorcism for demoniacs who foam at the mouth and gnash their teeth, possibly involving an allusion to the Panegyric.⁴⁴ Towards the upper end of the scale, as a liturgical composition, is a long general prayer for warding off evil spirits, represented in two manuscripts under the name of the Thaumaturge, and in a third under that of 'St. Gregory Theologus.'⁴⁵ Pradel's collection of such prayers

³⁹ F. J. Goar, *Ἐυχολόγιον* (1647), pp. 729-731 and note p. 736.

⁴⁰ L. Arnauld in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, III (1913), p. 301.

⁴¹ The catalogue was published as *Harvard Theological Studies*, No. 12 (1925). The mss. are described on pp. 107 and 135. They are 684. H. 29, ff. 37-54. (*προσευχὴ καὶ ἀφορκισμὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματοουργοῦ ἐκ χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων* — dated 1475), 950. Θ. 88, Item 15 (undated) and 882. Θ. 20, ff. 114-124 (dated 1735).

⁴² Described in J. Iriarte, *Regii Bibliothecae Matritensis Codd. Graec. Mss.* (1769), pp. 422, 423.

⁴³ Barroccianus 8 (see Coxe, *op. cit.*). This is a 16th century codex ending with a book of exorcisms.

⁴⁴ Item (η) in the above. Compare the Panegyric, M.P.G. 46, 944A.

⁴⁵ One copy occupies nine pages of the codex Γβ, 14 in the library of Grottaferrata. For the text, see T. Schermann, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Ser. III, Bd. IV (1909), pp. 18-21 (part of the text, only). Another is in the 11th-13th century ms. No. 355 of the Russian Hostel of the Holy Sepulchre at Stamboul, as in N. I. Sagardj, *Svjatyj Grigirij Čudotvórec* (1915), pp. 563-564. The 'Theologus' copy is in the 13th century

includes one involving three Helpers, namely the Theotokos, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus and Φιλίππος ὁ πνευματοδίδωξ.⁴⁶ Vassiliev's collection contains a spell to cure a παιδὶς κακόσκοπος, under the name of St. Gregory 'Theologus.'⁴⁷ Codex Ottobonianus Graecus 290 at the Vatican has one simply called εὐχή Γρηγορίου εἰς ἀσθενούντας.⁴⁸ Of special interest are two prayers described by Reitzenstein, in a fifteenth-century papyrus at Paris. The first is called 'Apocalypse of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus,' and in it is revealed to the saint the house-angel Aphemeel, by invocation of whom every evil spirit can be driven from the house. The other is called προσευχή τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου, and in it the angel Agathoel reveals to the saint the fever-demon Suchael, the demon of debility, Sael, and Aphamael, the guardian of the house. It is hardly to be questioned that the saint of the two revelations is one and the same. And it appears that the name of the Thaumaturge has been employed to adapt for Christian use a piece of Jewish angel-and-demon lore.⁴⁹

To make a thorough collection of such exorcisms as bear the name of the Thaumaturge, or may have that attribution, would call for labour out of proportion to the gain. Several additions could easily be made to the short list above,⁵⁰ which suffices none the less to represent this class of literature. It may be added that the tradition connecting the name of the Thaumaturge with exorcism passed over from Byzantine into Slavonic Orthodoxy. Professor N. I. Sagarda adds to a brief survey of the Greek field of exorcisms an account of some Slavonic prayers under the name of our saint in fifteenth-century collec-

Milanese codex Ambrosianus 709 and is called προφυλακτήριον οἴκου. For the codex, see the Catalogus Codd. Graec. Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, E. Martini e A. M. D. Bassi (1906), II, p. 822. Part of this copy is printed by S. Schneider in Eos, XIII (1907), pp. 135-138.

⁴⁶ F. Pradel, *Graecische und Süditalienische Gebete* (1907), pp. 18, 19; from the 16th century Cod. Marc. gr. app. D 163.

⁴⁷ A. Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeca Byzantina* (1893), p. 342.

⁴⁸ See F. Feron and F. Battaglini, *Codd. Mss. Graeci Ottoboniani* (1893). The codex is 16th century and the prayer occupies ff. 58-67.

⁴⁹ R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, pp. 292-296; and see note on p. 19.

⁵⁰ Sagarda, *op. cit.*, p. 561, notes the following mss.: Barberini 233 (12th century) Codex Vaticanus 1554, Codex Ottobonianus 290 and the Grottaferrata codex Ba. 23.

tions of prayers in the library of the Solovetz monastery, and the text of a very quaint exorcism in the Rym Museum at Moscow at the end of which is the name of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, as one of the Helpers against the evil spirits whose power is invoked in employing the spell.⁵¹

The subject-matter of these spells, exorcisms and prayers gives little clue as to the circumstances of their origin. Some betray influences coming from outside orthodox Christianity, such, for example, as Jewish magical gnosis. It goes without saying that none of them is likely to have any personal connection with the Thaumaturge himself. They do not even, like the hymns, shew conscious dependence upon the ideas of Nyssen's Panegyric. The folk who composed, adapted and copied these semi-magical forms attached the name of St. Gregory to them because, presumably, it was in their minds and in the minds of the people for whom they wrought a name of power. Perhaps the title

⁵¹ This exorcism is in the Gregorovitch ms. 819, and is headed, A Prayer for deliverance from all evil, and from the power of the enemy, and against the aura of the evil demon. There follow three forms, of which the first lays a spell upon any *aviso* of the demon, on the masculine aura and the feminine aura, on the aura of water and the aura of blood, of cooked food and of cold food, the aura of cattle and the aura of adjuration and any kind of aura. 'It turns back with the terrible sickle the tongue and tail and talons of the demon so that he cannot make them straight again, nor move his tail.' The spell then invokes three hundred angels to hurl thunderings and lightnings upon the unclean spirits, and then passes into exorcism. 'Hark you, Harmful One, let go and depart from the servant of God, N, and from his house.'

The second form is for maladies of the head, and binds the aura of any beast, even asp or basilisk, or the aura of burning fire or of blood, and so on. It is in *oratio obliqua* as follows: This aura came out of the deep and the chief archangel Michael met her and said to her, Whence comest thou and whither goest thou? Thou black aura, turn thee back, hairy head! And she said, I go to eat the bones of the man N and to break up his body. And the archangel Michael said to her, Mayest thou have no power at all to eat this man's bones or to break up his body, but may the Lord God pour down upon thee from heaven fire to destroy thy malice. Depart thou to the deep; depart from the limbs and from the bones of the servant of God N!

The third form is against the aura that may be encountered in travel or that crosses one's path, the (masculine) aura of the serpent, the aura of the spring, the aura of noonday and of the road: Depart and go forth from the servant of God N and from his flesh and from his bones. Depart to the high mountain and hide in the dragon and eat his bones and drink his blood. Return not to the servant of God N nor into his house.

The Thaumaturge is only mentioned as one of the saints empowering the exorcisms, and one may conjecture that the visits of Russian pilgrims to Hagia Sophia may be the explanation of his presence here.

Thaumaturgus had something to do with it, since it was a distinction in earlier times. It would have its effect among people of so low an order of religious culture as to have no hagiological knowledge but of the most commonplace description.

The bearing of this class of literature upon the interest of the people of Constantinople in the Thaumaturge is quite different from that of the two types of literature which were under review before. They were of known authorship, and their connection with the capital could be established. These exorcisms, on the other hand, are anonymous and might have come into existence in any corner of the Byzantine world. Yet just because they are not works of originality or artistry, they bear witness to a continuous vulgar tradition coming down from some time and place wherein even the people in the street connected the name of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus with protection against evil spirits. Where could this be, we may ask, but in the 'Royal City'?

The most public and lasting proof of the recognition which our saint had gained in Constantinople is his commemoration in Hagia Sophia. Of fourteen mosaic portraits of saints filling seven shallow niches above the two upper lateral galleries, the middle portrait on the north was that of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.⁵² The Turks covered these over with thick distemper, but they were examined and described by Cav. G. Fossati, the architect in charge of the restoration carried out by Sultan Abdul Mesjid, 1847-1850. Their date is matter for guess-work. It must be later than Iconoclastic days, and the scheme of figures is of the kind that is found elsewhere in the time of Basil II, at the end of the tenth century.⁵³ The existence of such a portrait is no evidence of cultus of the saint in question. The most that can be said is that the Thaumaturge must have been one of those whom the more knowledgeable public might expect to find as one of the fourteen great saints of the church. But from the time that the portraits were

⁵² W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople* (1894), pp. 276-277, 279-287.

⁵³ Ch. Bayet, *Peinture et Sculpture Chrétiennes avant la querelle des Iconoclastes* (1879), pp. 87-88, and see below.

erected he was made familiar to the great public in a new way, and any tendency that might exist to regard him as one of the heavenly Helpers would have been permanently strengthened.

In addition to this mosaic portrait, another architectural feature of the building became associated with the name of the Thaumaturge, but for less obvious reasons. This was a very undistinguished column of streaked white marble supporting the Women's Gallery. There are no less than twenty such columns supporting the galleries, and the only circumstance which might seem to give to any of them a priority of rank is proximity to the doors which give access to the church from the west. There are four under the western or Women's Gallery next to the entrance-doors, and these four are in fact distinguished by having holes plugged with marble, placed differently on the several columns, which in former times must have been made for metal pins for the support of objects hanging on the columns. One of the most obvious possibilities is that the objects in question were ikons, or at any rate sacred objects of some kind that offered themselves as the means of performing some pious action immediately upon entering the church. Two of these four columns under the Women's Gallery, one northwards and one southwards, are named in the anonymous work entitled *Περὶ τῶν πατρίων τῆς πόλεως* (*De Antiquitatibus Constantinopolitanis*),⁵⁴ published by Combefis. That to the north is named as the column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and the other of St. Basil. The passage in question⁵⁵ is concerned with the manner in which Justinian acquired the ground for building Hagia Sophia, and purports to tell what portions of the church stand on the sites of particular messuages. As the Women's Gallery is accounted to cover two messuages (those belonging to the Eunuch Charito, and the βασιλίσκᾱριος Xenophon) whose outer extremities are defined by the two named columns, it is most natural to suppose these to be the outermost columns to north and south respectively. The Anonymous assumes that the reader knows the columns by these names, and gives no explanation. At most he has supplied an indirect hint, in his reference

⁵⁴ M.P.G. 122, 1190-1315.

⁵⁵ M.P.G. 122, 1293.

to the disposal of relics of saints in different parts of the building. They were, he says, built into the wall below the dome, to enlist supernatural aid in the perilous work. And later he makes the round assertion that a sacred relic was 'enthroned' in every column.⁵⁶

The statement need not be taken too seriously. The Anonymous, whose work is headed with verses dedicatory to Alexius Comnenus, should appear from that to have lived in the eleventh century. The book itself is antiquarian, and sets out to tell of the origins of the glory of Constantinople. The part relating to Hagia Sophia is concerned chiefly with the story of its building by Justinian. In such a work we might expect to find traces of documentary sources, with an admixture of legend and perhaps pure invention. The Anonymous has fallen under severe criticism from the architectural writers, who find in him errors gross enough to suggest that he was writing about the building from memory.⁵⁷ The suggestion has even been made that he wrote during the Latin domination, and that his purpose was consolatory.⁵⁸ But this seems to depend upon too high an estimate of the ordinary writer's (and reader's) attention to architectural facts, however familiar the building in question may be. The Anonymous continually shews intention of explaining what he alludes to as existing facts by relating their historical origins. It seems safe, therefore, to follow Banduri,⁵⁹ and the older critics generally, and regard the book as written for the Constantinopolitan public before the tragedy of 1204 overtook the city and its treasures and traditions; in fact, as the dedicatory verses suggest, under Alexius.

The Anonymous mentions the column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus as marking the boundary of a certain messuage which Justinian had to buy to complete the site needed for the church. The subject introduces an entertaining story which in turn is made to yield an explanation of the title and ceremonial con-

⁵⁶ M.P.G. 122, 1301, 1305.

⁵⁷ Auguste Choisy, *L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins* (1883), p. 138.

⁵⁸ Lethaby and Swainson, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-129.

⁵⁹ A. M. Banduri, *Imperium Orientale*, III (1711), reprinted as the introduction to the Anonymous in M.P.G. 122.

nected with the office of starter at the chariot races.⁶⁰ Twice does the Anonymous explain existing customs in the Hippodrome by reference to grants of privilege made as part-price of sites purchased for the building of Hagia Sophia.⁶¹ There may have been some historical basis for a crop of stories in this vein. But the purpose of the Anonymous was not strictly historical, and he would be most likely to tell as piquantly as he could the current stories. It is likewise improbable that he named the two columns from a desire to be precise. The probability rather is that he 'worked them in' because they were in fact objects of popular interest. It has already been noted that the four columns next the western doors must at some time in the past have been distinguished from their sixteen fellows by the objects hung upon them, whether ikons or other sacred objects.

It is likely, therefore, that when the Anonymous names two of these columns, he is depending, not upon any historical knowledge that Justinian named them, or deposited relics in them, but upon the fact that everybody knew them as bearing the ikons of the saints in question, in contemporary fact. Thus, by the eleventh century the Thaumaturge was one, not of fourteen but at the most of four ecclesiastical saints preeminently set before the attention of the public in the decoration of the Great Church. The tenth century is a likely time for this decoration of the columns, as for the mosaics, and for the same reasons.

With the year 1200 we escape from conjecture. Archbishop Antony of Novgorod, who came to the city in that year in the course of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, wrote a travel diary. The part of it referring to Constantinople is the more precious because it is the last record of the things he saw, before the sack of the city by the crusaders in 1204. In recounting his visit to Hagia Sophia he says that as one turns to come out by the north door "one sees at the side the column of St. Gregory the Thaumaturge all covered with bronze plates. St. Gregory appeared near this column; and the people kiss it and rub their breasts and shoulders against it, to be cured of their pains. There is

⁶⁰ M.P.G. 122, 1293 BC.

⁶¹ M.P.G. 122, 1292 D-1293 A.

also the ikon of St. Gregory; on his feast day the Patriarch brings his relics to the column.”⁶²

It happened that Antony on this visit used what was the door in most general use, only to leave the building. Most people who then entered the church did so by that north-west door. And the first thing to seize their attention on entering must have been this first column slightly to their left. First there was the ikon of the Thaumaturge, the more brilliant, no doubt, by the illumination from a forest of votive lights, which gleamed also on bronze plates by which this column was further distinguished. And then there was the spectacle of a concourse of sick and suffering people, come to the column for the curative virtue which was believed to flow from it. This virtue was comparatively a new marvel, for the story of the apparition of the saint, since which the column had been charged with power, was still a matter of popular oral tradition, adding credence to the marvel. It is clear that for Antony the apparition of the Thaumaturge is the start of the whole story, and the column is St. Gregory's column in consequence of it. But the Anonymous, in hinting at a connection of columns with relics, shews that he had not in mind any such unique cause for the naming of this column. It seems safe to say, therefore, that the apparition must have been after the time of the Anonymous, and not very ancient history in 1200. Also, since the saint appeared at the column which was already the centre of devotion to him, and the place where a person might go to make a vow or offer a petition for his help, it may be presumed that the apparition, and the virtues experienced from contact with the column afterwards, gave impetus to a devotional movement that was already in existence. The tenth-century apparition of the Thaumaturge in the church of St. Mary of the Spring, related above, gives assurance that such occurrences might be expected.

Antony also connects with the apparition the liturgical custom according to which the Patriarch visited the column bearing the relics of the Thaumaturge. But again the connection is more than doubtful. The Constantinopolitan Synaxary places

⁶² Translated in Mme. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires Russes en Orient* (1889), p. 90.

the public Synaxis for the Thaumaturge in the Great Church — *τελείται δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ σύναξις ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, that is, in Hagia Sophia; and this may represent the practice as far back as the ninth century.⁶³ It may reasonably be supposed that the procession of the relics to the column was instituted after the final defeat of the Iconoclasts, and had its liturgical purpose in a general Proskynesis conjointly of the ikon and relics. There is no need of Antony's apparition to justify or explain such a ceremony. Some connection between the mosaics and ikons and the liturgical Synaxes held in the church might be expected, and seems to gain support from consideration of the fourteen great mosaic portraits of the lateral gallery-walls. Fossati gives the northern seven as Ignatius Oneos, Methodius, Ignatius Theophanes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Chrysostom, Cyril and Athanasius.⁶⁴ Those on the south are given by Salzenberg as Gregory the Illuminator, Nicholas of Myra, Dionysius the Areopagite, Gregory Theologus, Basil, Anthemius of Nicomedia and one unidentified.⁶⁵ The third northern figure is no doubt St. Ignatius (Theophorus) of Antioch, while the first, *Ἰγνάτιος ὁ Νέος*, is the successor of his neighbour Methodius in the patriarchate of Constantinople, and in the consolidation of the victory over Iconoclasm. These two figures, with that of Dionysius the Areopagite, fit altogether the attribution of the portrait group to the tenth century, as an age in which the Iconoclastic controversy was still a burning memory.⁶⁶ Eight of the fourteen had their Synaxes in Hagia Sophia, while five, Chrysostom, Methodius, Ignatius 'the New,' Anthemius and

⁶³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Propylaeum ad mensem Novembris, p. 231.

⁶⁴ Fossati published his brief notes on these mosaics in *Relievi storico-artistici sulla Architettura Bizantina* (1890) from jottings in his portfolio. W. Salzenberg's *Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* (1864) is an unreliable book, but the author had the opportunity of ascending the scaffolding in the south wall while the mosaics were uncovered. 'Ignatius Oneos' gives the measure of the historical insight of the architects, but helps to confirm the dating of the mosaics in question. The Patriarch Ignatius was the favoured of Rome against Photius, and his honouring as the 'New' St. Ignatius is in accord particularly with the ecclesiastico-political situation of the reign of Basil II.

⁶⁵ Salzenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-105.

⁶⁶ The figure of Patriarch Methodius stands for this, as much as that of Ignatius does for the cause of reunion with the West, so important to the Macedonian dynasty.

the Illuminator were entombed in other churches of the capital, where their Synaxes were accordingly held.⁶⁷

A consistent story therefore discloses itself. The interest in the Thaumaturge, which we have seen prevailed in Constantinople among both clergy and laity from quite early days, brought it about that he received a distinguished share in the scheme of liturgical commemoration in Hagia Sophia, in its first exuberance after the Iconoclastic controversy. His ikon was hung on the pillar next the most usual door of entrance, which fact together with the sound of his title 'the Wonder-worker' (then unique), was almost bound to render him popular with the common people. Relics were obtained, with the consequent enhancement of the liturgical observances connected with the column upon which his ikon was suspended. He became increasingly sought by individuals, as a Helper-in-need, both here and elsewhere. And then one such petitioner had a vision of the saint himself, and received a cure by contact with the column. Thereupon enthusiasm blazed up, and the situation was reached which Antony describes.

There followed straightway the *Λατινοκρατία*, 1204–1261. The accounts of Hagia Sophia in the period following, given by travellers, leave an impression of a bewildering wealth of sacred treasures, among which St. Gregory's column is passed by in silence.⁶⁸ The real riches of which the church had been despoiled by the Franks had been replaced by apocryphal relics, and marvels such as the Column of Flagellation. Count Riant has traced the fortunes of much of the sacred loot, but the relics of the Thaumaturge were not amongst it.⁶⁹ Perhaps because his name was not known to the Franks, or possibly because the relics were contained in a reliquary of no intrinsic value, the fact is that they appear in an audit-list made under Patriarch Antony VI in 1396.⁷⁰ There is one reliquary whose contents

⁶⁷ See the Constantinopolitan Synaxary *passim* in *Acta Sanctorum*, Propylaeum ad mensem Novembris.

⁶⁸ As may be seen in de Khitrowo, *op. cit.*

⁶⁹ Comte de Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (1878).

⁷⁰ F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, 1315–1402* (1862), pp. 566–570.

begin with the *λείψανον τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ θαυματουργοῦ* and end *καὶ τοῦ μάρτυρος Κλήμεντος, καὶ ἕτερα ἅγια λείψανα διαφόρων ἁγίων*. Some items in the inventory are qualified as *μετὰ κόσμον*, or *μετὰ κόσμον ὀλίγον*, indicating embellishment of the reliquary. The case which was used for storing (among others) the relic of the Thaumaturge was unembellished. But this does not mean that the relic might not be placed in a feretory and carried in liturgical observance, as in the days before the sack.

Constantinople fell to the Turk, and Hagia Sophia became a mosque. But the common people, whatever the change in their religious allegiance, did not forget the curative virtues of the column. There is no evidence that even the Christians of Stamboul remembered that its virtues came from the Thaumaturge. These were accorded to the column in its own right as 'the Sweating Column,' and as such it has enjoyed greater celebrity in Hagia Sophia since than before the change of religion. The earliest surviving evidence for this belongs to the seventeenth century, and shews that the column was again surrounded by bronze plates. Evliya Chelebi (1611–c. 1675), who in his youth was one of the minor clergy of the mosque, devotes some part of his book of 'Travels' to its glory, and treats the Sweating Column as one of the known objects of the mosque, by which the position of 'prayer-stations' may be defined. The third prayer-station, that of Iyyub Ansari, is described as south of it, while of the twelfth, that of Ak-Shemsu-d-din, he says that "it is near the Sweating Column which stands on the western side of the south gate. It is a square marble pillar eleven cubits high, and cased to a man's height with brass. It sweats day and night, winter and summer."⁷¹ We should expect 'the east side of the north gate,' and there seems no alternative but to suppose that something has gone wrong with the text, which would place the column outside the mosque altogether. About the middle of the century, and during Evliya's lifetime, Sir George Sandys paid a visit to the mosque, and records that on entering by the north door he saw "within on the left a pillar covered with copper, forever sweating (I know not why, unless

⁷¹ *Travels*, translated by Von Hammer (1834), pp. 59 and 63.

in being passed through by some conduit) which the Turks wipe off with their handkerchers, persuaded that it is of sacred and sovereign value.”⁷²

A generation later Aaron Hill reports “great numbers of promiscuous people wiping off the moisture with their cloaths or foreheads, some expecting by its sovereign power to be protected from the least misfortune.”⁷³ Both travellers give the position of the Sweating Column as being the same as that so named today, and as that of the column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus in the time of Antony of Novgorod. Assuming, as Turks seem to do, that Evliya’s Sweating Column is the same, there is threefold witness that a popular superstitious belief in the virtues of the column, detached from Christian belief and even from vestiges of Christian legend, maintained itself continuously, through the capture of Constantinople and the consequent change of religion of Hagia Sophia. This carrying over of a popular superstitious cultus must be attributed to the lower classes of the population, who changed their political and religious subjection without changing their ideas. Those who clung to Christianity and might therefore have kept in mind the memory of the connection of the column with the Thaumaturge, were self-excluded from the building in which it stood. Apostates educated enough to know the Christian meaning of the virtues of the column would have abjured belief in them.

At the present time, the column still continues to be at once the object of popular superstitious regard, and an object that attracts the notice of the visitor. It is enclosed in bronze plating to the height of about six feet. Two low steps at the foot of the column, forming an integral part of the monolithic shaft, are separately covered by shaped plates, though the base on which the column stands is bare and much worn. The armour of the straight shaft consists of four oblong plates a little under a yard wide and each long enough to embrace two sides of the column, being bent to a right angle in the middle for that purpose. They are joined two and two, one pair fitting close above the other; two of them embracing the north-west corner of the

⁷² Travels (7th Edition, 1673), p. 25.

⁷³ Ottoman Empire (1709), p. 138.

column, and two the south-east. Each plate is riveted to its mate with long bronze pins with splayed heads, and a smith can easily remove them. In the upper belt on the south side is a ragged hole beneath which is a cavity in the marble perhaps two and a half inches in depth. Just above the top of the upper belt the marble shews rather a high polish especially at the corners and immediately above the hole. The prevalent custom is to insert a finger into the cavity beneath the hole.

Present-day guides call it the Weeping or Wishing Column, and while they know that the moisture of the column has been held to possess curative virtue, describe the current popular belief as less serious and earnest. The column is now little more than a 'lucky stone.' A person with a wish goes to the column, wishes, and inserts a finger in the cavity. If he feels moisture, it is a sign that his wish will come true. This is evidently to put the superstition on its lowest level. One has but to watch poor Turks coming and touching the column to see that there is piety rather than frivolity in the proceeding. A few years ago, when Islam was still 'established,' the column was treated more seriously than now. A correspondent of Dr. H. Guthe of Leipzig was informed that the moisture from the column healed diseases of the eyes.⁷⁴ But the source of this particularization may have been the Russian pilgrims, who told this to Dr. A. Mordtmann,⁷⁵ and had pilgrim manuals which contained Antony of Novgorod's account of the column. Professor E. A. Grosvenor learned from Turks, what others also report, that the moisture is a panacea for every disease, but that the virtue depends upon the degree of moisture experienced, and that that in turn depends upon the holiness of the patient.⁷⁶

There does not seem to be any serious evidence that the column does exude moisture. The authorities of the mosque told M. Antoniadès in 1904 that they had never known the column to sweat. There is no natural possibility of the inside of the present touching-cavity exuding moisture. Pious imagi-

⁷⁴ Reported in an article in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-vereins*, XVII (1894).

⁷⁵ This fact is reported by Dr. Guthe in the above article.

⁷⁶ Constantinople, II (1895), p. 550.

nation has clearly played a very great part in the matter. Antony of Novgorod had nothing to say about 'sweating.' And if it is conceivable that the seventeenth-century evidence had some basis in physical fact, due for instance to the proximity of a north window then unglazed, it is also possible that the stone was imagined to be moist because it was the custom to apply cloths to it, the custom having grown up in Christian times and on Christian precedents, with intention of carrying away the thaumaturgic virtue of the column. The moisture, in short, may be simply due to Moslem rationalization of a custom taken over from the Christian period.

The present bronze armour of the column cannot go back to the days of Antony, since it does not permit the rubbing of the breast or shoulders against the column, nor even the forehead, as was possible in the days of Aaron Hill. Sometime, no longer ago, therefore, than the eighteenth century, the authorities of the mosque must have determined, in replacing the bronze armour possibly for other reasons, to make it high enough to stop access altogether to persons wanting to rub themselves on the column. Whatever end they had in view, the public was evidently determined to maintain its custom, as the hole and cavity on the south face bear witness. M. Eugenios M. Antonides was able, in 1904, when he was residing in Stamboul and at work on his monumental *Ἐκφρασις τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας*,⁷⁷ to make a thorough examination of the column, the armour being removed for that purpose. In spite of the difficulty that people continually kept coming to touch the column, he made a photograph of the cavity, which he publishes. This shews a jagged top to the pit and a rectilinear outline above it, with rectangular corners just visible at its ends. The rest of the cavity is worn smooth to a high polish, slopes slightly down as it runs in, and is somewhat elongated in the direction imposed by the hole in the plate. These phenomena tell a clear story. Someone struck the plating so heavy a blow with an iron instrument as to tear an aperture in the metal and fetch away a flake of marble, leav-

⁷⁷ Three volumes, in modern Greek, copiously illustrated, and published in Paris in 1907-1909. The section on St. Gregory's column is vol. II, pp. 226-228.

ing a rough pit. The top of this pit was protected from rubbing by the inturned metal, but every bit of marble surface that could be reached by fingers thrust through the hole in the plate has yielded to this endless polishing. It is a story of anonymous but energetic protest, to which the authorities thought best to make no reply.

The other disclosure resulting from the removal of the armour was the existence of faint outlines of figures in low relief beneath the upper plate on the north face of the column. No such thing exists on any other column. M. Antoniadès suggests tentatively that it may be a relic of the *Λατινοκρατία*. At any rate it speaks of a time when the armour did not at least extend so high, and people were not expected to rub themselves continually upon any exposed surface. It is certainly possible that the Latins stripped the column of the glories which Antony saw, but essayed to replace them by some mark distinguishing the thaumaturgic column.

One other clue remains for interpretation. On each face of the column, a few inches above the armour, are two plugged holes. Something was once suspended equally on every side of the column. In this particular it is in contrast with the other three columns by the doors, on which plugged holes appear also, but lower down and irregularly, mostly singly in the middle of a face, as if to suspend some object of moderate size and weight. On the east face of the column of St. Basil are holes in the form of a small Latin cross, such as might have been made to secure a metal crucifix in the days of Latin domination.

Antony's phrase, 'covered with bronze plates,' leaves room for several interpretations. Though it is certain that it was not meant, like the present armour, to frustrate the desire of the public to touch the column, it may have been designed to protect it. We can judge what was likely to happen to such an object as St. Gregory's column, and what steps ecclesiastical authority thought good to take under the circumstances, from the account which Thomas Smith, chaplain at the British Embassy at the end of the seventeenth century, gives of the most prized relic then in the Patriarchal church at the Phanar.⁷⁸ This was

⁷⁸ De Graecae Ecclesiae hodierno statu (1698), p. 42.

a reputed portion of the column of Christ's flagellation. Such a relic appears in some later travellers' accounts of Hagia Sophia in Christian times, and it is possible that it is the same object which was later at the Phanar. The memory of the Column of Flagellation as connected with Hagia Sophia lived on, since Aaron Hill heard of it as a possible explanation of the qualities of the Sweating Column, that some said it was the Column of Flagellation.⁷⁹

Modern guides repeat the same story, explaining thus the name 'Weeping Column,' and the low reliefs under the plate on the north face, which they say are the face of Christ. All this is typical garbling of things heard without attention. For Smith says the Phanar relic is '*nigri marmoris fragmentum*,' and goes on to particularize: '*tres pollices latum, duos circiter longum, . . . quod aeriis cancellis clathratis ne quid vel a piâ vel a sacrilegâ manu patiatur, muniunt. Integram columnam, hujus haec pars est, in Pontii Pilati praetorio, ad quam Christus alligatus flagris cardebatur, stetisse ab universis adeo firmissime creditum est, ut rem vel in dubium vocare apud ipsos plane nefas sit. Hinc pulviculi erasi ob morborum fugandorum vim a pie credulâ plebe magni emuntur.*' The description clearly shews that gratings were necessary from the Christian point of view, not so much to protect an architectural object, as to enable official control to be maintained over the public action towards a sacred relic credited with powers of healing. It shews also what sort of action the ecclesiastical authorities in Constantinople shortly after 1453 had in mind as, probably, the *traditional* way of dealing with such an object. On the other side, the action of the Turkish authorities in Hagia Sophia, in the light of Antony's account of the bronze plates of his day, seems likely also to be a continuation of a traditional way of dealing with a situation.

Putting the two things together and connecting them with the pairs of large plugged holes in each face, a conjecture becomes possible which seems worth making. This is that the protection of the column of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus pro-

⁷⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

vided by the Greek ecclesiastical authorities consisted, not of unpierced plates built and bolted to the column, but of pierced plates or grills, hung on each face of the column from iron supporting pins. This will have permitted some contact of the person, as well as of napkins, with the column, while imposing control from the official point of view. The Moslem authorities in more recent times must have set their faces more firmly against what they regarded as superstition. Such views must, however, be credited only to a puritan few. For the Turks of Stamboul in general the Sweating Column was hallowed by an eminent part in the legends of the conquest. Dr. Mordtmann published as an appendix to his *Eroberung Constantinopels* (1856) specimens from a work published in Stamboul in 1846 under the title *Tarich Müntechebati Evlia Tschelebi*, but actually composed of local legend. Starting from Evliya's story of the body of a Moslem warrior with the invocation 'Jaudud' in red letters on his breast, found lying ready for burial in Hagia Sophia when the Sultan entered, it makes him a prophet named Jaudud of whom Ak-Shemsu-d-din told the Sultan that as long as he was alive in the city it could not be taken. So, when the Sultan rode into Hagia Sophia and looked round, the Sweating Column lit up with blinding effulgence. On going thither, the Turkish leaders found the body with the name Jaudud, laid out on the ground behind it, pointing to the south, and recognized it to be the subject of Ak-Shemsu-d-din's prophecy. As they were going to wash it for burial, a voice was heard declaring, 'It is washed by the Sweating Column already; simply give it burial.' More marvels follow, but beyond the precincts of the church.

Another legend published by Dr. Guthe (and, in the form given, comparatively modern, evidently) explains the cavity behind the hole in the bronze plate as having been made by the thumb of the legendary saint Khidr, who appeared accompanying Mehmed Fatih into Hagia Sophia, left this proof of his presence and mysteriously vanished.⁸⁰ The late Mr. F. W. Hasluck thought that Khidr had actually replaced St. Gregory

⁸⁰ In the article cited.

as *numen* of the column. But as the so-called thumb-mark depends on the hole in modern plating, and literary evidence of the antiquity of the connection of Khidr with the column is not forthcoming, it seems as probable that the column began its Moslem career in anonymity.⁸¹ The forms of the modern Turkish legends have more than a suggestion of the influence of Christian legend at work in their genesis. But it may date no further back than the manuals of the Russian pilgrims.

On the other hand there is no sign that the Christians of Stamboul had anything to do with it. The Synaxis for St. Gregory Thaumaturgus had no place among those observances of the Great Church which took root again at the Phanar.⁸² The catastrophe had cut off those who retained their Christian faith from what had been the Great Church, and the agents of continuity between the Christian and Moslem observances at the column must have been renegades to Christianity.

To sum up, the cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus at Constantinople is in evidence at Hagia Sophia from perhaps the ninth century until 1453. The exact circumstances of its inception cannot now be known, but the times were favourable to the inception of cults, and the atmosphere of Constantinople to this particular cult, for reasons that have been shewn.⁸³ Our saint

⁸¹ F. W. Hasluck and M. M. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, I (1929), pp. 9, 10 (footnotes not to be trusted).

⁸² In the *Βυζάντιον Ἑορτολόγιον* (N. Gedeon, 1899). November 17 is devoted to Lazarus Zographus. Professor D. S. Balanos, of Athens, told the present writer in 1932 that he did not know of any existence of cultus-interest in the Thaumaturge among the present-day Orthodox.

⁸³ Some further indications of the position occupied by the Thaumaturge in Constantinopolitan thought are as follows: In the sixth century, the African correspondents with the imperial city in the affair of the Three Chapters, Facundus of Hermiane and Liberatus, Deacon of Carthage, bring what little they know about the Thaumaturge into play, and each mentions his Greek title *Θαυματουργός* (Facundus, M.P.L. 67, 787 and Liberatus, M.P.L. 68, 991). By this title he is named in the second section of the First Canon of the Trullan Council of 692 (Mansi, XI, 940 E). Germanus, Patriarch of Constantinople, 715-730, driven out by the Iconoclasts, in his *De Haeresibus*, treats the Revealed Creed as the 'knock-out blow' for Arianism (M.P.G. 98, 48-49). George the Syncellus of Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, 784-806, began a *Chronographia* from the time of Diocletian, but he died before completing it. Theophanes subsequently continued from the point where he left off. Some of George survives in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, including a passage in which

had been before the minds of the men of the capital through his significance for three interests which were strong there, Nyssen's Panegyric being the chief, if not the unique, means by which he was known. But the hagiological personality of the saint, as he came to Constantinople in this wise, was wrought upon by the interests of the people of the city, just as the historical personality of the disciple of Origen comes through the Pontic tales subject to a characteristic metamorphosis. There was now a Byzantine St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, sponsor of Byzantine orthodoxy, patriarch of Byzantine monachism, preeminent *πνευματοδιδῶξ* in a Byzantine demonology, and thaumaturgic Patron, not of Pontus but of the metropolis itself and of the Constantinopolitan faithful who sought him at his trysting-place in the Great Church. And at that point a fresh stage is only beginning. For it follows that wherever we may find an interest in our saint as part of the hagiological heritage of any place that came under the religious influence of Constantinople, it will have been to some extent as the Byzantine St. Gregory Thaumaturgus that such people will have received him.⁸⁴

III. MAGNA GRAECIA

Monsieur F. Lenormant, as he made his way along the Calabrian coast in 1879, was pleased at finding the name of San Gregorio Taumaturgo in the village of Stalletti near Squillace. The subject of his quest was the survival of Greek culture in

George considers the anomaly that Eusebius should not relate the miracles of the Thaumaturge, and accepts as the only solution that Eusebius was so infected with the errors of Origen and Arius that the glory of Gregory was distasteful to him. Nicetas Choniates, 12th-13th century, makes the Revealed Creed the starting point of his theology, *Thesaurus*, Liber II, c. 32; M.P.G. 139, 1168. The Menology of Basil II made a hagiographical knowledge of the Thaumaturge general in the 10th century. (See his *μνήμη*, M.P.G. 117, 165 B.)

⁸⁴ The iconographic evidence for Byzantine interest in the Thaumaturge belongs to the period between the 10th and 12th centuries. Examples are the beautiful ikon reproduced as frontispiece in Sagarda, belonging to the 11th century, two ivory diptychs of the mid 10th century published by A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen* (1934), and the mosaic of the reign of Basil II in the Catholicon of Ὁσίου Λουκάς at Stiris; O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst* (1922), pp. 554, 555.

South Italy, and here was 'un saint éminement oriental.'¹ He recognized at the same time that he had reached the neighbourhood of Cassiodore's dual monastery of Castellum and Vivariense.² He saw in the cliffs at the foot of the Capo di Stalletti a cave partly wrought by human agency, which seems to be beyond all doubt Cassiodore's cave of the fishpond, and found that it was called locally the Grotta di San Gregorio.³ Yet it is hardly possible that the name owes anything to Cassiodore, to whom the Thaumaturge was known as a figure in church history, but without any hint of hagiological interest attaching to him.⁴ It was subsequently that a Greek Basilian house dedicated to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus arose on approximately the same site as that occupied by Cassiodore, and brought the name.

The earliest mention of this Basilian monastery occurs in a charter of Roger, Count of Sicily and Calabria, dated in the year 1096. It is addressed to John, son of Nicephorus, bishop of Squillace, who had but newly succeeded to that office, and in whom began a new line of bishops of the Latin rite.⁵ The deed in fact establishes and endows the Latin bishopric, and defines the extent of its authority. This embraces the Greek Basilian monasteries in the diocese, which are accordingly enumerated in the deed. The list is headed by the *Abbatia Sanctae Mariae de Roccella*, while the *Abbatia Sanctia Gregorii* comes fourth. The title Thaumaturgus is absent, and Canon Minasi, at one stage of his researches into the antiquities of this coast, was inclined to think that this Gregory was not the Thaumaturge. But when he made enquiry of Mgr. Raffaello Moriscano, then bishop of Squillace, the bishop replied that in all the deeds in the episcopal registry which added any title to the name of St. Gregory in this connection, it was the title Thaumaturgus.⁶

¹ La Grande Grèce (1880), II, p. 373.

² Op. cit., pp. 355-371.

³ So G. Marafioti, *Croniche ed Antichità di Calabria* (1601), p. 143 and Luigi Grimaldi, *Studi archeologici sulla Calabria* (1845), *s.n.* Squillace.

⁴ *Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita*, Book VIII, c. 8 (M.P.L. 69, 1116 A) depending upon Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* IV, 27.

⁵ F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, IX (1721), p. 426.

⁶ G. Minasi, *Cassiodoro* (1895), pp. 208, 220. The see of Squillace has now passed under the administration of the archbishop of Catanzaro.

And Canon Minasi's reasons for doubting are by no means cogent. It can be safely concluded that the dedication of the monastery in question was from the first in the name of the Thaumaturge.

Another piece of information from the episcopal registry which must here be taken at second-hand is that twice cited by M. Lenormant, that Count Roger "agrandit, reorganisa et enrichit le monastère grec de Saint Grégoire le Thaumaturge de Stalletti."⁷ He adds that Roger at the same time founded a new monastery of St. Nicholas of Mariota. Now this, under the guise of Magliota, figures in the list of Greek monasteries under the first Latin bishop. This benefaction to Greek houses must therefore be earlier than 1096. It was the enlightened policy of the Normans in Calabria to foster Greek institutions where the population was predominantly Greek. At the same time they introduced a radical change in the whole social structure, the basis of which now became feudal. For nothing did this mean a more circumstantial alteration than the Basilian monasteries, whose *hegoumenoi* now became landed proprietors. Their predecessors a century earlier had been but passing tenants of caves and hermit-cells, and it may be questioned how welcome the change was to the monks themselves. But there seems to have been little choice. St. Bruno, who had come into the forest near Squillace for a like purpose of seeking freedom and detachment, was no less than the Greeks constrained to fit his shoulders to the feudal harness, and see his group of hermitages transformed into the great landed abbey of San Stefano in Bosco. The purpose of the Normans is comprehensible enough. They saw subject to them in Calabria two races and two rites, and they made a dual application of their own national social principles, to the institutions of both the one and the other.

A liberal endowment of the Greek rite in the neighbourhood of Squillace corresponds with its being an area of Greek population, which had but newly been concentrated there. The town of Squillace is perched on an isolated and precipitous hill which makes it the natural key to that part of the Calabrian coast.

⁷ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-435.

It seems however to have been left to the Saracens to exploit it as such. They fortified it and held it from about 910 until 965, when a Byzantine army succeeded in taking it by storm.⁸ For a short while in 1044 it was held by William of Altaville, who further strengthened it by the erection of a Norman keep. The Greeks however regained it, and upon the capture of Reggio by Count Robert in 1060 it was to Squillace that such of the Regginese Greeks as preferred to keep their allegiance to Constantinople were permitted by the Normans to withdraw. Therefore when in the following year Count Roger assaulted Squillace, the Byzantinophile Greeks regarded it as a breach of faith. And when they surrendered, they obtained the condition that they should be allowed to leave by sea and take refuge in the imperial territories.⁹ Those who took advantage of this concession and departed must have been a small minority, while those who remained under Norman rule constituted a solid block of Greek subject population, to which moreover Roger might well feel conciliatory. We thus have at once an explanation of his lavish endowment of Greek monachism in this neighbourhood, and a reason for dating it very shortly after 1061. By 1096, as is shewn by the deed already cited, the balance of population was changing, so that the Count was now chiefly concerned to provide the Latin rite for that considerable body of Norman officials and soldiers and other non-Greek folk who by this date were settled in Squillace.

No account of the ecclesiastical history of this neighbourhood can be satisfactory that does not find a place for the great ruined church which stands not far removed from the present railway station of Catanzaro Marina. If it is pre-Norman, all our ideas with regard to Greek life on this coast before the coming of the Normans will have to be changed. It would have been opportune, therefore, if the archaeologists had arrived at a clear verdict. This cannot be said to have taken place. A

⁸ An excellent summary of this local history is to be found in D. Spanò Bolani's *Storia di Reggio di Calabria* (1857), of which tom. I, pp. 118-126, deals with the period of Saracen rule.

⁹ Spanò Bolani, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-137 from Gaufredus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Roberti et Rogerii*, Book I, cc. 35-36.

battle of opinions was fought to a standstill in 1903 and 1904 in the *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* by Drs. Groeschel, Strzygowski and Priess,¹⁰ taking the work of Foderaro and Caviglia¹¹ as the starting point. The question was at the same time under examination by M. Bertaux of the French School at Rome, who published his conclusions in 1904.¹² The alternatives seem to be to date the building, which is the church of that S. Maria della Roccella which figured at the head of the list of Greek monasteries subject to Bishop John, as then quite new, or to date it back to much earlier times, even as far back as the fourth century. The outcome of the discussion was on the whole favourable to the later date. No firm case came to light for establishing on architectural grounds any one of the proposed earlier dates. The agreement of Groeschel and Bertaux in grouping Roccella architecturally with Mediterranean churches of the early Norman period is impressive. But it is not completely decisive.

We are however now in a position to move the question somewhat forward, in that we have seen reason for believing that Roger was lavish in his generosity to the Greek rite at the beginning of his dominion in Calabria. It makes it fully possible to believe that such a church might have been his work. Now Groeschel's examination of the building seems to have established the fact that it is an architectural unity. And Bertaux shews its close affinities with the cathedral of Monreale. Finally, Dr. Kirsopp Lake has drawn attention to the way in which elsewhere in their southern domains the Normans linked up to four great monastic centres the lesser Basilian houses in their neighbourhood.¹³ The question accordingly suggests itself,

¹⁰ Dr. Julius Groeschel of München wrote on Roccella in *Z. f. B.*, 1903 (pp. 429-448) and drew the fire of Dr. Strzygowski in the same year (*Z. f. B.*, pp. 629-634) and of Baurat F. Priess of Magdeburg in the following year (*Z. f. B.*, 1904, pp. 441-448). Strzygowski stood by his view in his *Kleinasien*, which appeared in 1903 (pp. 221 ff.); Groeschel replied at length in the *Z. f. B.* in 1904, and the editor then closed the discussion.

¹¹ G. Foderaro, *La Basilica della Roccelletta presso Catanzaro* (1890), and Enrico Caviglia, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, III (1903), pp. 51 ff.

¹² *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale* (1904), pp. 127-128 and *passim*.

¹³ In his admirable study entitled *The Greek monasteries of South Italy*, in the

'Did Roger build Roccella to be a fifth such centre for the cluster of Greek monasteries in the diocese of Squillace?' If the answer is in the affirmative, we must see in the resettlement of Greek ecclesiastics, with lavish endowment and building, along a hitherto much ravaged coast, a fine but over-optimistic gesture on the part of the Norman duke to impress his Greek subjects. For it promised a degree of security which was not, in point of fact, yet to be attained.

The ruins of Roccella, with their comparatively narrow and sharply separated nave, and great cluster of sanctuaries to the east of the transepts, must certainly have originated as the church of a considerable monastic community. A church so shaped can never have been built to serve a town congregation. And this observation, which tells against any hypothesis which requires that the building of Roccella should be thrown back into the days when there was a thriving Greek secular life on this coast, is favourable also to a Norman origin of the great brick church.

If this is the case, the monastery of Roccella had but a brief history. There are two documents extant which, in setting out to prove the rights of the bishops of Squillace over the ruins and the property that went with them, indicate that the monastery was already extinct by 1101. The first deed is dated in Messina in 1110, and it confirms existing rights to a bishop-designate named Peter, whose election had taken place on the previous day. Ughelli prints it, and states that he obtained his copy from the bishop's registry at Squillace.¹⁴ The grant is made by the Countess-regent Adelaide, who associates with herself her young son Roger, later to be King Roger I of Sicily. She confirms the see in the tenure of Roccella *sicut Hieronymus, qui abbas fuit ipsius ecclesiae, ante obitum tenuit una die et una nocte*, and speaks of Hieronymus as holding his rights from *Comes Rogerius*. Count Roger died in 1101, which fixes the lowest date for abbot Hieronymus. Ughelli gives also the text of a canonical confirmation by Paschal II, also in 1110, of the grant

Journal of Theological Studies, IV (1903), pp. 345 ff., 517 ff., and V (1904), pp. 22 ff., 189 ff.

¹⁴ Ughelli, op. cit., p. 429.

as made by the Countess.¹⁵ He recognizes the secular grant of *colonos seu praedia de Paleopoli sive Roccella*, and on the spiritual side describes it as giving possession of the *Oratorium Sanctae Mariae quod illic situm est*. Finally he recites that the Countess gave the property to the see *pro redemptione animae supradicti comitis Rogerii*.

Thus, by 1101, the monastic corporation which in 1096 stood at the head of the Basilian family in the diocese, was extinct, and its great abbey church had only the status of an *oratorium* in the hands of the bishop. Here we cannot have any ordinary history of corporate decline, but some sudden and final catastrophe. The phrase about Hieronymus reads like an allusion to some well-known and tragic tale. It suggests very strongly that he was the *last hegoumenos* of Roccella. Perhaps the most likely hypothesis is that during his last night Saracen pirates landed on that beach which was so fatally close, slew or abducted the monks and their villeins in Palaeopolis, sacked the rich abbey, and stood out to sea again while the day was young which Hieronymus never saw. The endowments of Roccella thus fell back into the hands of the Count, who himself died without making any disposition. His widow gave them to the see, for the repose of his soul. Thus the monastic history of Roccella will have been less than forty years. It was a foolhardy thing to found such an institution on such a site. But Roger was flushed with success at the time when it has been presumed that he did it. And the extensive ruins which the people of the neighbourhood called Palaeopolis offered the same opportunity that Verulam did to the monks of St. Albans.

Two more documents throw a little further light on the subject. In 1145, Celsius, bishop-designate of Squillace, went to King Roger's court at Palermo, to obtain confirmation of the temporalities of the see. Roger gave him a document which has come to rest in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples.¹⁶ It records the acknowledged grants made by Count Roger and Countess Adelaide to the see, and transcribes the villein-rolls

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 429-430.

¹⁶ F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum Membraneum* (1865), pp. 182-185.

corresponding to the two grants. The first, consisting of 112 names, must correspond with the grant of 1096. The second, which is said to be that for the donation made by Adelaide in 1110 to Peter's predecessor (Donatus), has 34 names, and is said to be *καθάπερ ἐπικράτι αὐτὴν Γεράσιμος ὁ καθηγούμενος*. If Hieronymus was the last abbot, Gerasimus must have lived in the nineties. The two villein-rolls will then represent the same census, perhaps that which established the district on its feudal footing.

Once more the title of the bishop to Roccella comes into view. This is in 1469, when the bishop's steward presented his title deeds before Henry of Aragon, the Lieutenant of Calabria. He received a confirming-deed, printed by Ughelli,¹⁷ which describes the property as *magnum territorium* (the twelfth-century villein-rolls suggest that it was nearly equal to a third of the whole remaining endowment of the see — which accords with the scale of the church) *cum ecclesia sub vocabulo S. Mariae tectis discoperta*. The extinction of the abbey had therefore left 'Palaeopolis' ecclesiastically derelict. Thus the story told by the documents seems to put Groeschel and Bertaux in the right, and to shew that the great church of Roccella goes no further back than Roger. So there disappears what was otherwise reason for postulating an important pre-Norman history of Basilian monachism in the diocese of Squillace, with the consequent possibility of a long pre-Norman history to the monastery of the Thaumaturge.

Granted that the ruins of Roccella have no other bearing on the early history of the monastery of the Thaumaturge, it next becomes clear that that history has to be won from an obscurity into which it is difficult to cast the least ray of light. The broad facts about Basilian monachism in Calabria under Byzantine rule have been established by Mgr. Batiffol¹⁸ and Dr. Kirsopp Lake, who disposed of the theory which gained acceptance with earlier writers (Lenormant, for example)¹⁹ that fugitive monks had established themselves in Calabria when

¹⁷ Ughelli, op. cit., p. 443.

¹⁸ P. Batiffol, *L'Abbaye de Rossano* (1891), *passim*.

¹⁹ Lenormant, op. cit., pp. 387-436. Minasi, Cassiodoro, c. xvii.

driven by Iconoclastic persecution from the East. Not a scrap of evidence appears for such fugitives settling in territory under Byzantine administration. It is all concerned with those who took refuge in and under the shadow of Rome, and in lands outside the power of Constantinople. The idea that the image-worshipping subjects of the Emperor might have been allowed to establish themselves in his Italian dominions lacks the support of evidence and of probability. The known history of Basilian monachism in Calabria begins with the late ninth century and extends through the tenth. In this period, Calabria was 'a second Egypt' and its monastic leaders were new Fathers of the Desert. They belonged to a Greek society that fled from the Arab conquest of Sicily, and continued to be pushed by Saracen aggression in Calabria. They, and likewise the communities which grew up under them, were essentially migratory, occupying the slightest of buildings and living by the labour of their hands in unoccupied land. The 'Lives' of the founder-saints of this movement give no glimpse of the corporate arrival of Basilian congregations from Sicily, or their presence within the Greek towns of Calabria. They shew us only a secular clergy who, if they embrace the monastic call, leave the towns and seek the ascetic life in the wilds.²⁰ It seems certain, therefore, that whatever steps were taken by the authorities at Constantinople to unite and stiffen Greek church life in Calabria, in independence of Rome, during the ninth century, they had not included any deliberate colonization of Calabria with Byzantine monks. If that took place, it will have been from the days of Nicephorus Phocas, and in the wake of the spontaneous Calabrian monastic movement.

The reinhabiting of the ruins of the monasteries of Cassiodore by Greek monks is not a probable work of the first phase of the Calabrian monastic movement, and the Saracen occupation of Squillace puts the period of the main development out of the question. The probable time, therefore, for the founding of the house of the Thaumaturge is subsequent to 967, when the

²⁰ Reference may be made to c. v, 'Les moines grecs en Calabre et la colonisation religieuse Byzantine' in Jules Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire Byzantin*, 867-1071 (1904).

Greek armies had once more gained control of this coast. The dedication to St. Gregory Thaumaturgus has a Byzantine ring, and not that appropriate to an offshoot of the Calabrian monastic movement. In Byzantine connections it was not unique. The Ephesian monastery of Nicephorus Blemmides was so dedicated. And another monastery of this dedication was known by Apollinare Agresta to have existed on the island of Ikos in the North Sporades, which was afterwards held and fortified by the Venetians; for which reason Agresta regards it as being an extinct monastery of his Province.²¹ In the case of the Ephesian monastery, a special reason for the dedication may be urged, since the story of the Revealed Creed indicated the Thaumaturge to be the specially favoured of the Blessed Virgin and St. John. But in having the Ikos dedication, we have one sign pointing to the fact that Byzantine monks anywhere might choose this dedication in founding a new house.

In the century preceding Roger's possession of this country, Squillace had been a principal military stronghold of the empire. To its Greek bishop might be commended any monastic colonists coming in the wake of the new garrisons. Cassiodore's monastery invited their settlement, which might have taken place at almost any time between 967 and 1061. And so we have a tentative but reasonable hypothetical history of the origins of the house. As is not surprising for a house adjoining the town where the last Greek *Strategus* of Calabria made his final stand,²² the monastery of the Thaumaturge would seem to have been endowed under the Byzantines, seeing that it is described as being enriched and reorganized by Roger. The Byzantine endowment would be by simple ownership of property, or support from the fisc, and Roger would convert either into feudal holding. Of this Norman endowment we have some further knowledge from two papers which formed the title of

²¹ Vita S. Basilii Magni (1681), p. 323. Agresta calls the place Chigliodromi, which is recognizable as the old name of Ikos, Kheliiodromi, and mentions two other island houses of the Basilian order that had been dedicated to a St. Gregory unspecified. Agresta was Roman Archimandrite-general of the Basilian order, and it is to be presumed that the houses of which he had such knowledge were formerly in some way related to the Basilianism of the West.

²² As it appears from Malaterra, l.c.

the abbey of San Stefano in Bosco to some lands at Mentauro. They are among the deeds, now at Naples, published by Trinchera. The principal instrument is that by which Gerasimus, abbot of the monastery of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, in 1243 makes over to the abbot of San Stefano the lands in question. He receives in exchange certain land at Stalletti in his immediate neighbourhood. The second deed in question, which is dated in the previous year, records the purchase by Gerasimus of a piece of the Mentauro land in question, and so is a subsidiary instrument to the other.²³ The vendor is his neighbour, Charis, abbot of St. Mary τοῦ παλεοῦ σκύλλακος (*veteris Squillacii*), who gets a piece of ground at Stalletti in exchange. The transaction serves the express purpose of making up the block of property which the monks of San Stefano coveted. The major deed shews that the exchange was carried out under episcopal arbitrators appointed by the Holy See, and we conclude that San Stefano had obtained powers of compulsory purchase. Now the original endowment of San Stefano, in 1091, had been defined as the land two miles every way from St. Bruno's church.²⁴ This was at the time deserted land, but part of it lay in Mentauro. Ten years later Roger gave San Stefano everything else he had to give in Mentauro.²⁵ What was outside his gift in Mentauro seems to have been just that land which the abbot of St. Gregory was forced to barter in 1243. And we may therefore assume that the monastery of St. Gregory had received it from Roger before 1091. Gerasimus produced no such proof of title to the land, but no deeds seem to exist for the first Norman assignments of land.

This transaction exhibits the Greek monastery as the less favoured institution. San Stefano was at this time under the Cistercian rule,²⁶ and of no outstanding importance. But by the

²³ Trinchera, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 406 respectively. It seems impossible that Trinchera can be right in printing πόλεως σκύλλακος at the head of the earlier deed. It is παλεοῦ σκύλλακος in the other. In these deeds people seem to describe themselves as of the χώρα, and not of the πόλις of Squillace.

²⁴ Trinchera, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87.

²⁶ Camillo Tutini, *Prospectus Historiae Ordinis Carthusiani* (1638), *sub annis* 1192–1514.

middle of the thirteenth century, the Basilian houses as a whole were at the end of the period of rather unnatural prosperity derived from the Norman settlement.²⁷ It was a prosperity that may be likened to the opening of a cut rose in a warm room, which is followed immediately by the dropping of the petals. Endowment and the vicinity of Latin monasticism caused a remarkable efflorescence of Greek monastic culture in south Italy. But in the thirteenth century the Greek community which the institutions of the Greek rite represented was fast melting into the common life of Italy, and in religion passing over to the predominant Latin rite. Basilian monachism, as a very special profession, began to seem in the eyes of all sorts of contemporaries grossly overendowed. And hence the middle thirteenth century stands out, from the documentary point of view, as the age of Basilian litigation,²⁸ and was followed by the granting of abbacies *in commendam* until practically all the Basilian monasteries are commendatory. Other lines of evidence shew first a decline in numbers, and then in wealth and morale, of at any rate the smaller houses. In the case of the house of the Thaumaturge, the evidence available includes the following. First there are entries in the Vatican tax-rolls. That the monastery of St. Gregory does not appear in the earliest²⁹ is presumably because it was under the bishop of Squillace, and had not immediacy. But later it appears. In the roll for the years 1326-1328, the Abbas S. Gregorii de Stalani pays '18 gra 8' which is quite a heavy tax.³⁰ But by 1482 the entry is "Squillacen. Gregorii, fl. xxxiii½," which is the lowest rate of any.³¹ It is a probable conclusion that it had ceased to be an independent monastery by the beginning of the fourteenth century and that there was subsequently a progressive alienation of its lands. The house continues to have a place in the sixteenth-century *Liber Taxarum D. Passionaei*.³²

²⁷ P. Rodota, Dell' origine di rito greco in Italia (1758), *passim*.

²⁸ Lake, in the last section of the article cited.

²⁹ Batiffol, op. cit., p. xxxiii. In 1192, only S. Maria de Carra from this see appears on the tax-roll. See P. Fabre, *Liber censuum* (1889), p. 22.

³⁰ Jules Gay, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, IV (1895), p. 63.

³¹ Batiffol, op. cit., p. 107 from the ms. Vaticanus 9239.

³² Augustin Lubin, *Abbatiarum Italiae brevis notitia* (1693), p. 374.

In 1468 a deed was issued by the Viceregal Court under King Ferdinand I of Sicily to enable the Abbas S. Gregorii de Stal-latti, with the archpriest of Soverato, to prosecute in the court of the bishop of Squillace a farmer named Angelli, of Monte Pavone, for what looks like the most barefaced piece of appropriation of church land at their expense.³³ The incident may be without significance for our history. But it will appear later that about this time the non-resident Commendatory to whom the monastery of St. Gregory had been granted either could not or would not be troubled to find monks of the Greek rite to serve the house, and so installed Latin clergy instead. This was a step that became increasingly common in the period immediately following. But from the comments of a later Basilian Visitor, it took place in the case of San Gregorio unnecessarily early. There may have been circumstances that precipitated it. But in any case there must have been a break in the continuity of corporate existence and personnel that would favour a cool piece of appropriation of the monastery land, such as that of the farmer Angelli. It is an inviting guess that the Latin rite was new at San Gregorio in 1468.

In 1551 a vivid light is thrown upon the house of the Thaumaturge by the visitation report of the Basilian Visitor, Dom Marcello Terracina, Archimandrite of San Pietro d'Arena.³⁴ In this we get our first glimpse of cultus of St. Gregory at Stalletti. Terracina was commissioned by Julius III to conduct a *Santa Visita* of the Calabrian monasteries, as one of the steps in the practical-reform policy that came to the fore in connection with the second period of the Council of Trent. The passages are as follows:—

Die II^o Octobris accessimus ad monasterium divi Gregorii de Staldati, ubi invenimus abbatem unum presbiterum latinum et unum monachum diaconum; ubi est sepulchrum divi Gre-

³³ Ughelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-439.

³⁴ A copy of the text of the *Santa Visita* report in the hand of the Archimandrite-general Pietro Menniti is bound up in the volume *Nouveau Fonds Latin, 13081* in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. Batiffol prints it, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-116. For the general policy of which this visitation was a part see V. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte der Reform unter Julius III* (Görresgesellschaft, 1907).

gorii et fiunt multa miracula; sunt enim ibi multae reliquiae. Hujus abbatis erat abbas commendatarius Tiberius Canossa, qui habebat sacerdotes latinos ad officium celebrandum, usque dum possit habere graecos.

Die II Octobris venimus ad S. Mariam de Veteri Squillatio, quae est abbatia et non ecclesia parochialis, quae etiam vocatur Episcopatus Squillacensis. Justa S. Basilium de Camardi est abbatia antiqua quae justa mare, sed per timorem Turcorum abbas Marcus Anthonius Armogica fecit unam grangiam sub casali Stalatti, et vocavit monasterium S. Gregorii. Die eodem accessimus ad monasterium predictum de Vetere Squillatio quod distat parum a litore maris. Vidimus altare nudum et sine porta et male tractata (*sic*), quia non poterat habitari propter invasionem piratarum. In dicta ecclesia celebrantur tres missae qualibet hebdomada. Abbas est homo bonae vitae, solitus quotidie dicere officium, et est presbiter, et solet aliquando celebrare missam.

This ruined monastery of S. Maria de Veteri Squillatio is the same evidently that we have already encountered in close relations with that of San Gregorio in the thirteenth century. It is wrongly identified by Batiffol³⁵ and others with Roccella, which, as has been seen, ended its corporate existence at the end of the eleventh century. The Roccella identification was tempting because of the conjectural equation of Vetus Squillatium and Palaeopolis. But the equation is wrong. The Neapolis corresponding to Palaeopolis is not Squillace but Catanzaro. The name Catanzaro Marina borne by the railway station which today adjoins the ruins of Roccella is in accord with the archaeological facts. Catanzaro, it appears, was the ultimate settlement of fugitives from the coast whose old home is represented by the straggling ruins called Palaeopolis, said to be the remains of a city called Petalia.³⁶ In the midst of these and constructed from them is the church of

³⁵ Batiffol, op. cit., pp. xii, xxxiii.

³⁶ So R. Romano (see below). Others identify it either with the Roman *Scyllaceum* or with 'Lissitania' (Grimaldi, op. cit., p. 59), while others, as V. D'Amato (see below), have been content to suppose that Palaeopolis was the name of the city. L. Giustiniani identifies it with the ancient Amphisia.

Roccella, which local opinion not unnaturally has regarded as the 'cathedral' of Petalia. The site of Roccella is all wrong for Vetus Scyllacium, because it offers no slope steep enough to accord with Cassiodore's description of the town as clustering like a bunch of grapes.³⁷ And it is nearly four miles up-shore from the Grotta di San Gregorio, in the vicinity of which must be sought the Scyllacium of Cassiodore.

But we are spared further argument as to the position of S. Maria de Vetere Squillatio by a native writer of Stalletti who knew the ruinous chapel mentioned by Terracina when it was still standing and in occasional use. We shall have occasion later to make extensive use of this writer and his book. He does not in fact call the chapel by the title of *de Vetere Squillatio*. But he supposes it to be the parish church of Old Stalletti, and the place where the body of St. Gregory had lain before it came to the existing Stalletti. It is nearly a mile from Stalletti towards the sea, and is close to the sea; for which reason it is known as Santa Maria del Mare. Every year at the third day of the Easter festival the people of Stalletti go out to it to keep the Festa della Gran Madre di Dio. By Old Stalletti, which for reasons that will appear later he calls Columna, he clearly means the place that stood on the same hill-side as Stalletti, but at the part where it begins to jut out into the sea as the Capo di Stalletti, which is likewise the site of Cassiodore's Scyllacium. This chapel and Terracina's chapel must almost certainly be the same. The popular use of the chapel may explain Terracina's interest in making it clear that the church is monastic and not secular. It does not appear from his account that the three masses a week said there are said by the abbot; so that they may have been paid for by parishioners and said by a secular priest. The topographical question might be put finally to rest, if we had the means of interpreting Terracina's words 'justa S. Basilium de Camardi.' The name of *καμαρδή* occurs in documents as a local place-name,³⁸ but with nothing to fix further its position.

³⁷ Cassiodore, Ep. xv, *ad Maximum praepositum* (M.P.L. 69, 866).

³⁸ Trinchera, op. cit., pp. 199-202 and 366.

Accepting the identity of S. Maria de Vetere Squillatio and S. Maria del Mare, we get its position as close to the Grotta di San Gregorio, and above it. The monastery of San Gregorio must also have been near the Grotta, perhaps lower down. The two houses must thus have been close neighbours, and Batiffol's phrase is appropriate, calling them 'deux humbles couvents . . . qui revendiquaient l'honneur d'être la survivance, qui du *monasterium Castellense*, qui du *monasterium Vivariense* de Cassiodore' ³⁹ — only that the order needs to be inverted, since the identification of S. Maria de Vetere Squillatio with the Vivariense depends, in Batiffol's argument, upon its identification with Roccella. It is possible that the relation between the two houses was one of more than chance propinquity. In the Calabrian houses of tenth-century foundation the linking of hermitages and a monastic house was frequent, in the same manner in which Cassiodore had linked them. S. Maria and San Gregorio may never have been wholly independent corporations, even after they were feudalized. Such a hypothesis seems to bring light into the marked obscurity of Terracina's report. Armogica had been abbot of that S. Maria which had had to be abandoned because of its nearness to the Turk-infested sea. He therefore obtained in the village of Stalletti a cottage and named it 'Monasterium S. Gregorii.' Again, there is no second 'ubi invenimus abbatem' for S. Maria, nor, though the abbot of S. Maria is mentioned, is it said where he lives. He is apparently one and the same as the Abbas S. Gregorii. Such an organic connection of the corporations of S. Maria and San Gregorio is in agreement with the fact that the Abbas S. Gregorii in 1242 recovered from the Abbas S. Mariae a piece of land forming part of what appears to belong to the original Norman endowment of San Gregorio in 1096.

By 1551, the ancient building associated with the name of St. Gregory had entirely disappeared, and the remembered home of the community was S. Maria de Vetere Squillatio, whence had come to the chapel belonging to the *grangia* in Stalletti a portable chest containing bones which Terracina mentions,

³⁹ Batiffol, *op. cit.*, p. xxxiii.

under the title of *sepulchrum divi Gregorii*. One calamity may account for the disappearance of the former monastery of St. Gregory, and the extinction of the Greek rite, under the tenure of Canossa; to say nothing of Angelli's attempt to possess himself of church lands.

If Terracina's reference to the body of St. Gregory is the oldest evidence for the cultus of the Thaumaturge at Stalletti, it is closely if maladroitly followed by Gabriel Bari, who says, of Stalletti, "In templo hujus pagi est corpus beati Gorgonii." Tommaso Aceto, who produced an annotated edition of Bari's work in the eighteenth century, for which he made use of Bari's manuscript, comments, "Constans traditio est inibi asservari corpus S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi."⁴⁰ The blunder was therefore Bari's and not the printer's, and so we can assume that the fame of the Thaumaturge, if well established locally, was not by that time widely known.

How are we to account for the fact that in 1551 for the first time we hear of the miracle-working relics of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus at Stalletti? It is unlikely that they were then for the first time treasured, as their portable case argues that they had come to the Stalletti chapel, on its erection, and probably, as our seventeenth-century local writer affirms, from the chapel of S. Maria del Mare. They may in turn have been taken thither from a vanished chapel of St. Gregory, where they were treasured in earlier days. But it is a much more questionable conjecture that they had always been treasured as the bones of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. It is comparatively rarely that relics are deliberately fabricated by unscrupulous men. But popular misconception has been responsible for thousands of relics. A competent nineteenth-century observer credits the Calabrians with a special readiness in this direction, saying of this diocese, "È ricca la diocesa di Squillace per li molti corpi santi che vi riposano, od almeno che gli abitanti credono riposarvi."⁴¹ The Calabrians have more than an ordinary excuse for credulity, also, because they are surrounded by the

⁴⁰ P. 276 of Aceto's edition of 1737 of Bari's *De antiquitate et situ Calabriae* (1571).

⁴¹ Giuseppe Cappelletti, *Le chiese d'Italia* (1870), XXI, s.n., Squillace.

memorials of a strange and mysterious antiquity, than which nothing is more stimulating to the popular religious imagination. Most of all must the expiring Basilian monachism have excited the imagination of sixteenth-century Calabria. It stood for an old world that had passed away. Within living memory, in such a place as Stalletti, people had heard and seen rites in a language and with circumstances that once had been predominant and were now gone. These things must have appeared to the common people representative of the ancient *numina* of the countryside, venerable and full of glamour. If relics were saved from the ancient Greek monastery by the Grotta di San Gregorio, it is not surprising if they turn out to be the body of San Gregorio himself; it could hardly be otherwise. It would be waste of time to speculate whose bones they might be in strict historic fact. There is no sign that anything from the classical legend of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus reached Stalletti together with the sacred bones. In later times it is known to have been customary to refer to San Gregorio as 'Il Greco,'⁴² while the title *Thaumaturgo* always appears to rest on literary and not popular habit. The people did not, most likely, connect the saint with Pontus or any foreign land, but saw in him the representative of the holy Greeks of old time in their own land (the relics may indeed have been such!) whose influence and favour still brought them blessing.

But then came the Renaissance, and learned Italian ecclesiastics who had but lately recovered a hagiological gem in the Panegyric were delighted to find fresh treasure-trove, which was nothing less than the body of the Thaumaturge himself, preserved in this out-of-the-way corner of Magna Graecia. This took place all the earlier because of the consecration of Guglielmo Sirleto to the see of Squillace in 1568, and his activities in Calabria as Reformer of the Basilian Order. Once the interest of such educated and highly-placed persons began to be manifest with regard to San Gregorio, local pride in the relics and the saint was thoroughly roused. And it is in accord with

⁴² Enciclopedia dell' Ecclesiastico (Naples, 1845, no name), IV, p. 1016, under 'Chiesa di Squillace.' The editor of this survey was Vincenzo d'Aveno.

expectation that we find that in the great Turkish raid of 1594-1595, when the raiders ruined a great part of Reggio and carried off huge numbers of Calabrians to slavery, the people of Stalletti attributed their immunity to their San Gregorio. The Turks (so certain witnesses subsequently deposed before a notary-public) were actually approaching the village and had reached an *iconella* at a point where one first sees the church of St. Gregory, when suddenly a black cloud obscured the sun, and the Turks, turning about, ran to their ships, reembarked and put to sea.⁴³

In this incident we have the first appearance of a belief which later is plentifully in evidence, that the saint broods as a protecting *numen* over the place of his tomb, and wards off all manner of calamities.

With the seventeenth century the seclusion of local tradition broke down before the influence of the printed book.⁴⁴ Also, the breath of the Counter-reformation began to stir Calabria. And so in this century the story of the cult of the Thaumaturge at Stalletti enters upon a new chapter. But the repercussions from the bigger world that thus affected the piety of Stalletti were not due solely to the new book-knowledge about the Thaumaturge. Some hagiological and liturgical observance of St. Gregory had lasted in the West all through the middle ages. And this fact was also to have its part in moulding the revived cult-interest of the seventeenth century. It will be well, therefore, at this point to leave Magna Graecia for a while, to make

⁴³ R. Romano, see below. For the raid as a whole, see Spanò Bolani, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-291. G. Moroni, in the *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica*, *s.n.* Squillace, states that Squillace was 'quasi atterrata dai Turchi' in 1595.

⁴⁴ This was realized by one Domenico Martire, of Cropani, who proceeded in a thorough and modern way to collect the local antiquities of Calabria, at some time in the middle 17th century. He left manuscript which was published at Cosenza in 1876 under the title *La Calabria Sacra e Profana*. He knew of a great deal of unpublished matter on Calabria written by Cardinal Sirleto. In his Book II, c. 5, note 13, he discusses the topography of Cassiodore's monastery, and decides that the 'chiesetta sotto il titolo di S. Maria Vetere' surrounded by signs of other buildings, on a promontory at the foot of which beats the sea, is part of the site; and that the two monasteries of S. Maria Vetere, and San Gregorio di Stalletti represent the dual monastery of Cassiodore. His description of the position of S. Maria Vetere shews that it is the same as Romano's S. Maria del Mare.

a wider survey of Western interest in the Thaumaturge down to this time.

IV. NAPLES

St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was known to the learned in the Western church in a literary way from the end of the fourth century. This was through Rufinus' translation of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, in which were not only Eusebius' references to the saint, but interpolated into the translation of the Seventh Book four hagiological anecdotes about him which Rufinus had gathered during his residence in the East.¹ These anecdotes did not fail to rouse quite special interest, as is apparent from allusions to them in Eucher of Lyons,² Gregory the Great³ and Bede.⁴ And they eventually won the Thaumaturge a place in the liturgical commemoration of no inconsiderable number of churches, upon July 3. This was due to the somewhat perverted activities of Ado, archbishop of Vienne⁵ in the later ninth century, who, in attempting to find a place in the calendar for those saints known to him from literary sources, ignored the traditional commemoration of the Thaumaturge on November 17 established for the Latin church by the Martyrology of Bede,⁶ which had received it from the use of Naples, and chose instead July 3, apparently upon a purely personal caprice. Nevertheless, Ado's historical martyrology, embodying the Rufinus stories as lection for the commemoration of the Thaumaturge on July 3, was more effective in spreading a knowledge of the Thaumaturge among Latin readers than the

¹ The text is given in E. Schwartz' edition of Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as an appendix to Book VII, c. 28, in *Die griechischen Schriftsteller, Eusebius, II* (1903), pp. 952-956.

² In his *Epistula paraenetica ad Valerianum*, M.P.L. 50, 718.

³ *Dialogorum liber I*, c. 7, M.P.L. 77, 183.

⁴ In *Marcum XI*, M.P.L. 92, 247.

⁵ This strange story forms a principal theme in H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologues historiques* (1908), *passim*.

⁶ For the original text *S. P. N. Gregorii miraculorum factor* under November 17, see the Bollandist text in M.P.L. 94, 1105-1106. In that position it was taken for a reference to St. Gregory of Tours. And under Adonic influence, the Thaumaturge reappeared in Bedan calendars under July 3. See Dom Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine*, VIII (1891), pp. 481-493, 529-537 for the evidence of the Gospel book of St. Cuthbert.

traditional commemoration in the Bedan Martyrology and its derivatives.

But the creation of cult-interest is a different matter, and Ado's work was from that point of view sterile. More fruitful in this respect were the contacts of Latin churchmen with the veneration of the Thaumaturge among Greeks. The readiness of Latins to appropriate Greek cultus and hagiology was specially marked in the earlier period, when the Greeks were so much richer in this respect, as is testified by the number of Eastern saints absorbed into Latin hagiology, and into varying degrees of cultus, during the sixth and seventh centuries. It would appear that St. Gregory Thaumaturgus came near to having a place among those in general acceptance. Père Delehaye believes that the text of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, disturbed and corrupted as it is, bears witness to the fact that a commemoration of our saint upon November 17 stood in the original Hieronymian calendar.⁷ This would argue a knowledge of the Thaumaturge among Roman churchmen in, say, the sixth century, and would explain what is otherwise surprising, the assurance of the seventh-century hegoumenos of the Basilian monastery of St. Saba at Rome, Leontius, that any Roman Christian was familiar with the history of the Thaumaturge. Leontius, about 680, wrote a life of St. Gregory II, bishop of Girgenti, who had died in 630. His hero had paid a visit to Rome and there proved his sanctity by resolving, through his prayer, a blockage of timber which was being floated down the Tiber for the building of a church. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ πάπας καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι πάντες καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τῆς πόλεως τὸ γενόμενον σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ ξύλα, ἐξεπλάγησαν λέγοντες, Ἀληθῶς οὗτος δεύτερος Γρηγόριος ὁ Θαυματουργὸς ἀνεφάνη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς σήμερον. If one must suppose that Leontius, as himself an Oriental, is somewhat optimistic in his estimate of the hagiological erudition of the Romans, the passage at least proves that great interest was taken in Rome in Greek hagiology.⁸ This state of things very soon passed, how-

⁷ This opinion was expressed in a personal note in 1930. 'Si on ne la reconnaît pas à la première lecture, elle n'échappe pas à un œil exercé.'

⁸ M.P.G. 98, 696. S. A. Morcelli made the edition from the 9th century ms. belonging to the monastery of St. Saba at Rome.

ever, and Rome ceased to be a principal focus of contact between the Christianity of East and West. The Thaumaturge, as is proved by the corruption that set in, as touching November 17, in the text of the Hieronymian Martyrology, ceased to have any notable place in the minds of Romans. And the premier place as meeting-ground of the Greek and Latin churches passed to Naples.

The liturgical calendar of Naples, as it becomes known to us at the close of the seventh century, shews, as is natural in view of the political relations of Naples and Constantinople, close dependence upon the Byzantine calendar, which had reached some degree of fixity as a result of the Trullan synod of 692. It was the contemporary Neapolitan use that Theodore of Tarsus brought to England, with the result that it formed the basis of the Martyrology of Bede. But the most remarkable historical witness to this use is the Marble Calendar of Naples, discovered during the restoration of San Giovanni Maggiore in 1742.⁹ As Professor Albert Ehrhard has recently argued, this lavishly expensive monument was aimed at the establishment of a permanent Neapolitan calendar on a Byzantine basis, but independent of the relations of the church of Naples with that of Constantinople.¹⁰ A probable incentive for the work was the resumption of an Iconoclastic policy by Leo V in 815, causing either Bishop Tiberius (821-841) or Bishop John IV (842-849) of Naples to despair of the maintenance of the Greek liturgical element in the life of the Neapolitan church through its close relations with the church of Constantinople. The Marble Calendar, in short, standardizes a Western Greek use, arranged on a Byzantine basis, with a large proportion of Western commemorations incorporated. There are some 120 local and other Western commemorations worked into a framework of some 230 from the Byzantine calendar. On this Calendar, the entry for November 17 is *DEP. GREGORII. THAM̄R*.¹¹ It

⁹ First published by A. S. Mazzochi, *In vetus marmoreum sanctae Neapolitanae Ecclesiae Kalendarium* (1744). There is a recent critical edition by H. Achelis, *Marmorkalendar von Neapel* (1929).

¹⁰ In *Rivista di archeologia Cristiana* (1934), pp. 119-150.

¹¹ The text is in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova Collectio*, V (1831), pp. 58-65.

has been seen that during the last days of close contact between Neapolitan and Byzantine church life, interest in the Thaumaturge at Constantinople had become marked. And we may therefore suppose that behind this entry there was such Neapolitan familiarity with the story of the saint as Leontius credits to the Romans a century or so earlier. It must have been strong enough, in fact, not to disappear, as so much Greek hagiological knowledge did disappear, with the increasing Latin predominance in Neapolitan Christianity. For hardly had the church of Naples sought to stabilize its calendar in the manner described than the course of history began to carry it away from Byzantine influence for good and all, and the Marble Calendar lost its importance.

The Thaumaturge kept his place in the memory of the Neapolitan church. In the early eleventh century the abbey of St. Severinus was using a hymn in his honour, which is the more interesting because of its subject-matter.¹² This could certainly have been derived from the separate texts of Rufinus and of Nyssen's Panegyric, but invites comparison with a Latin Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, known as the Monte Cassino Life.¹³ This Life has been shewn elsewhere to be the work of a South Italian writer who knew enough Greek to use Nyssen, with whose Panegyric he incorporated the Rufinus passages, and a little extra matter which he thought appropriate.¹⁴ The purpose of the work is obviously to provide for Latin monks who commemorate the Thaumaturge a full Latin legend for that purpose. In the St. Severinus hymn, and in the Latin Life, the story of the mountain moved by prayer, peculiar to Rufinus, and the story of the Lycus river in Nyssen but not in Rufinus, are found side by side with other matter common to both, but the order followed is different. Either the hymnographer was using the Latin Life, or he represents the same bilingual ap-

¹² G. M. Dreves, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, XIV (1893), p. 62. There are two exemplars written between 1000 and 1080, only one of which contains the hymn for the Thaumaturge.

¹³ Because the archetype is in the library of Monte Cassino.

¹⁴ W. Telfer, in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXI (1930), pp. 142-155, 354-363.

proach to the commemoration of the saint as does the compiler of the Latin Life.

There are three copies of this Life at Monte Cassino, all in manuscripts of the eleventh century. That which appears to be the parent copy is written upon a bunch of eleven vellum leaves bound into the back of a *legendarium* for the months of October and November. The transcription of the *legendarium* as a whole was completed in the year 1010, and the binding-in of the extra leaves was evidently for the purpose of adding a lection that was felt to have been wanting in the *legendarium* as it stood. The other two Monte Cassino copies are also in *legendaria*, where they form part of the text arranged for reading on November 17. The same is true of the eleventh-century *legendarium* in the Biblioteca Vallicellana at Rome which contains the Life. It is true also of four younger copies, of which three are in South Germany and one in Naples. The German copies stand in some connection with the Neapolitan abbey of St. Severinus. The remaining copy, whose whole existence seems to have been in Naples, was written in the twelfth century, and the *legendarium* containing it is arranged on the Adonic calendar. This is not its sole claim to originality. The compiler chose to include in his lections authors' and translators' prologues, and does so in the case of the Life of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. And that he should have been able to do so proves that he was not dependent for his copy on any of the family of *legendaria* already mentioned, but must have had access to some other source, which was probably a separate copy of this Life. This fact accords with the supposition that the Latin Life originated somewhere near Naples and had reference to the Neapolitan commemoration of the Thaumaturge. Its appearance in this somewhat eccentric *legendarium* based on the calendar of Ado indicates that its diffusion and popularity extended beyond the circle represented by one line of *legendaria*.

The commemoration stands in the twelfth-century *Rituale* of archbishop John de Ursinis,¹⁵ and of course on November 17.

¹⁵ L. Parascondolo, *Memorie della Chiesa di Napoli*, III (1851), p. 223.

Some Neapolitan calendars are in course of publication at present by Sig. E. Mallardo, and no doubt more evidence of the same kind is in existence from which it would transpire how far the commemoration of the Thaumaturge maintained popularity through the later middle ages.¹⁶ In any case the fact is that when the Renaissance brought new interest in the Thaumaturge, it found still existing at Naples a traditional interest to revive. So we find that seventeenth-century Neapolitan craftsmen knew how to make an image of the Thaumaturge, and the Neapolitan printers could produce an appropriate wood-block.

At this point it will be best to leave Naples for a moment to consider the general effect of the Renaissance in reviving learned interest in our saint. The first step began to be taken by the end of the fifteenth century, when newly acquired Greek linguistic knowledge made precious the masses of derelict Greek literature in the libraries of the moribund Basilian houses of Magna Graecia and Sicily. Cardinal Sirleto was a great collector of such manuscripts, and had three or four copies of Nyssen's Panegyric in his possession.¹⁷ But while the work was probably well known to him, his great learning was so busily employed in the overwhelming tasks of a Papal Librarian in that momentous age that he has left almost no writings of his own. In his lifetime, however, an increasing multitude of scholars shared in the work, and a translation into Latin of the Panegyric was made, but not published, by Gentian Hervetus in 1545.¹⁸ Sifani and Leunclavius included the Panegyric in their translation of Nyssen's works published in 1571.¹⁹ Surius published Hervetus' translation in his *Vitae Sanctorum* (1579).²⁰

In 1573 a new recruit to such labours arrived in Rome, to begin, as it proved, thirty years of work 'in the propitious city.'

¹⁶ In the *Rivista di Scienza e Lettere*, Naples, 1932-1935.

¹⁷ Four or five are at the Escorial. One, used by Voss for his edition, passed into the library of Cardinal Colonna.

¹⁸ Gentien Hervet, a Frenchman, born in 1499, went to Rome as a tutor in the household of Cardinal Pole, and in a long life spent chiefly about the Roman Court, did a great deal of translation of Greek patristics.

¹⁹ L. Sifani and J. Leunclavius, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, published at Basle in 1571.

²⁰ L. Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (1576). The lection is placed under July 3, in tom. IV.

This was Gerard Voss, a young teacher in the University of Louvain. The main work to which he set his hand was the production of an edition of the Works of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus in Greek.²¹ He included with this an edition of Nyssen's Panegyric for which he used one of Sirleto's manuscripts, another copy in the Codex Vaticanus 524, a third belonging to Cardinal Sforza and a fourth in the library of the King of France (of late date, thirteenth century — now Cod. Graec. 1525 of the Bibl. Nat. at Paris).

In 1603, and on St. Gregory's Day, November 17, Voss dated his preface to the attractive quarto volume which gathered up the fruit of so much toil. At the beginning is an elaborate dedication to the Virgin and St. Gregory which shews how much more than literary had been his aim. He was at the time leaving Rome to go back to his own lands, to be Provost of the Collegiate Church of Tongres, by Liège. On the way he took his book to the house of Lippius at Mainz for printing, and the title-page bears the date 1604. It must have been well at the end of the year before copies were ready to go abroad.

A number were certainly sent on their way, at once, across the Alps. Voss must have had many friends in Rome awaiting his book. Among them, no doubt, was Baronius, Cardinal since 1596. The arrival of Voss' book was destined to play an important part in the Cardinal's life.²²

We may suppose it to have reached him in the opening months of 1605. On March 3, Clement VIII died. Leo IX, elected on April 3, died on April 29. The cardinals found themselves at once in a fresh and very difficult conclave. Baronius gave a confidential account of what took place to Father Pietro Consolini of the Oratory.

Proceedings began with a landslide in favour of Cardinal Tosco. Baronius was convinced that he was not suitable. He was, however, pressed very hard by Cardinal Aldobrandini to 'adore' Tosco. He replied that while he would not make a

²¹ G. Voss, *S. Gregorii episcopi Neocaesariensis opera omnia* (1604).

²² G. Calenzio, *La Vita e gli Scritti del Cardinale Baronio* (1907), pp. 683-684. This is based on the ms. 'Memorie' of Pietro Consolini, Oratorian, in the Biblioteca Valli-cellana.

schism, he would not proceed to 'adoration' till he saw that he was in a minority of one. In this critical position, he retired to his cell, and there invoked urgently St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. His prayer was twofold, that he might have constancy himself, and that a marvellous over-ruling of circumstances might avert the catastrophe that Tosco's election would involve, according to his judgment.

His prayer made, he went out and met on the stairs some cardinals who asked why he was holding back from 'adoration' of Tosco. When he replied that he wished to be the last to write that election in the history of the church, Cardinal Montalto, impressed, as it seems, by the solemnity of his manner, exclaimed to the others, 'Why should we not make this holy man Pope?' Baronius' candidature being taken up, enough votes were drawn away from Tosco to prevent his election, and Camillo Borghese became Pope on May 16, 1605, as Paul V.

The deliverance, in Father Consolini's eyes, is due partly to the prayers of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and partly to the holiness of Baronius himself. Baronius was to give another indication of his feeling for the Thaumaturge in his earnest effort to support the historicity of St. Gregory's visit to Alexandria. He, like Voss, saw what the Panegyric was worth, as an ancient authority supporting modern dogma and practice touching the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that its credibility and accuracy needed defending.²³ And it is perhaps not wholly without relevance that Baronius was a Neapolitan. In him we see exemplified, not the start but the maturity of the new Renaissance interest in St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. Among earlier landmarks may be mentioned Sirleto's manuscript translation of the Greek Menologion, which formed a principal document for the revision of the Roman Martyrology, next the Martyrology itself, of which the *editio princeps* appeared in 1583, containing the commemoration of the Thaumaturge, then the corresponding Sixtine revision of the Breviary and finally Baronius' own epoch-making *Annales Ecclesiastici*, whose first volume, published in 1588, contained a fairly full account of our saint, mak-

²³ *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1738 edn.), II, p. 515.

ing use of the Panegyric. Thus by 1605 the Thaumaturge had begun to occupy in the minds of many Catholic scholars a place of high importance. He seemed to them to typify the Catholicism for which they were contending, manifested in those 'primitive times' to which the Reformed appealed as wholly on their side. It was for such traits that the *Annales* were regarded as the full counterblast to the Magdeburg 'Centuries.'²⁴

The revision of the Martyrology and Breviary set the hymn-writers to work again. Mutius Sforza's hymnary, published at Rome in 1593 with the idea that it should be used with the revised Breviary, contained a hymn in honour of the Thaumaturge, as did likewise a hymnary of the preceding year by Robertus Obrizius.²⁵ Such may be described as the general wave of interest which, sweeping over the whole Italian church in the early seventeenth century, stirred up the traditional Neapolitan interest in the Thaumaturge.

The earliest evidence of this is the publication at Naples in 1645 of a little anonymous tract, in Italian, entitled *Il Thaumaturgo di Ponto, ossia delle azioni di San Gregorio di Neocesarea di Ponto*. No copy of this work seems to survive. But Giuseppe Silos, who knew it, says that it was by Father Giovanni Paolo

²⁴ The way had been pioneered by the *Dialogi* of the Englishman Alanus Copus, published at Antwerp in 1566. *Centuriae*, Book III, c. 13 attacks Rufinus for his stories about the Thaumaturge; *Narrationes de Gregorio mendaces et superstitiosas, quales monachorum otiosum genus finxit*. To the Centuriasts, Rufinus' additions appeared typical monkish corruption of good church history. Copus beat them by knowing Nyssen. The *Dissertatio de S. Gregorio Thaumaturgo*, of J. L. Boye, Jena, 1709, of which a copy is in the Bodleian, under the class-mark Diss. K. 112, shews knowledge of the strong Roman interest in the Thaumaturge, and its reason. The Jesuit Peter Halloix was at one time promising to publish a *Life of the saint*.

²⁵ *Hymnorum libri tres in universos sanctos, quos hodierni Breviarii Calendarium continet*. The hymn for the Thaumaturge is on p. 199. The preoccupations of the age ring out in the last verse:

Seu tuis miris, prece seu potenti
Haereses fac in tenebras recedant.
Utque, sub nostro cadat ense fractus
Barbarus hostis.

Obrizius' *Hymnorum libri septem in Christi Jesu, Virginis Deiparae, divorumque gloriam* was printed at Orchies, near Lens, and is used, for example, by Tamayus de Salazar in his work on Spanish saints. The hymn *Fulserit haec sine nube dies occupies* pp. 213-215.

Grasso, Theatine, a man of learning for whom such a task was *extemporaneum, ac veluti ad laxamentum Italice compositum*.²⁶ It is possible however that Grasso's motive was not so much his own amusement as knowledge that a tract in the vernacular about St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was sure to meet with a welcome. But though the little book has disappeared, it is not necessarily to be accounted a total loss. Its substance is probably contained in later publications which displaced it. The manner in which this took place appears to have been as follows. The Theatines of Naples started a house at Palermo early in the seventeenth century. Their first church, which was later displaced in importance by the basilica of San Giuseppe, was the church of Santa Maria della Catena. This stands by the seafront at Palermo, surrounded by the best residential part of the town, and here, later in the century, Father Francisco Maria Maggio²⁷ commenced a form of devotional observance in honour of St. Gregory aimed at the edification of the upper classes. This brought about the publication in 1694 of a little manual evidently for the use of those who had profited by the devotions in Santa Maria. It is entitled *Compendio della Vita del glorioso San Gregorio Taumaturgo, con le divozione che si deve fare a gloria di cosi gran Santo*, and is anonymous. But it was re-issued in 1700 with the name of Father Ippolito Falcone on its title-page.²⁸ It is full of information as to the character of the interest that had been aroused at Palermo. Of its twenty-six

²⁶ *Historia Clericorum Regularium*, III (1666), p. 599. Grasso entered the Order in 1617 and died in 1651. His book was published by Ottavio Beltrano, but neither the Biblioteca Nazionale, nor the Universitaria, nor the Gerolomini at Naples has a copy. Connections between Squillace and Naples were not wanting, and in particular the Theatine Marcello Megalio (1591-1643) from Squillace was resident in Naples at the same time as Grasso. An incentive may therefore have come from Squillace.

²⁷ A. F. Vezzosi, *I scrittori de' Chierici regolari*, II (1780), pp. 4-23. Maggio was born 1612, professed 1631, served in the Theatine Mission in Georgia, 1636-1643, and at Palermo till his death in 1686. He published some seventy works, but nothing else on St. Gregory.

²⁸ Vezzosi, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 336-338, and Antonio Mongitore, *Bibliotheca Sicula* (1707) s.n. Falcone was a Syracusan noble born 1623, professed 1647, died 1699. His *Vita di San Gregorio* was the last of some dozen published works. A copy of it survives, bound up in a white vellum-covered volume marked *Miscellanea*, Vol. 16 (which was its class-mark in the Biblioteca Universitaria at Palermo) now in the Biblioteca Municipale at Palermo.

leaves about half are devoted to a free and sometimes not very accurate epitome of the Panegyric. The second half commences with devotions to be used by those who desire to obtain the aid of the saint. A general recommendation is the recitation of seventeen Paters, Aves and Glorias in his honour, and this can be done at any time and place. But, our little work goes on to say, in the church of Santa Maria della Catena in Palermo is a chapel dedicated to the saint, and his picture. There many miracles take place. The Theatine Fathers convoke the public on seventeen Wednesdays before November 17 to hear 'conferences' about the saint. There is crowded attendance of all classes, and the saying is general that San Gregorio "è il santo dei casi disperati."²⁹ There follow (from p. 27) eleven soliloquies by Father Maggio on the saint. The work concludes that besides the 'conferences' on the seventeen Wednesdays, a daily devotion to the saint is held by the Theatine Fathers in the saint's chapel at Santa Maria, and the form, including a short hymn, responses and a collect, is then given.

The general character of the work of the Theatines in Palermo was that of a mission to the educated and upper classes.³⁰ To this day the chaplaincy of the University³¹ is provided by them, and the special intentions suggested by Father Maggio to those who wished to use this little book are explicitly fitted for such persons as bishops, literary men, lawyers, ladies of rank, *professori*, landowners, preachers and other ecclesiastics.

The soliloquies of Father Maggio and the Life by Father Falcone shew mutual independence. Father Maggio, for instance, draws moral reflections from the incident of St. Gregory's flight from ordination, an incident which Father Falcone leaves out altogether. But both of them call Musonius 'Mau-

²⁹ The Calabrian writer Romano, ten years before Falcone, uses this catchword, and says that St. Gregory is invoked under this title in many places. It may be of Neapolitan origin.

³⁰ At this stage in the Counter-reformation such a movement gave to the educated the feeling of the power of Holy Church to 'bring out of her treasures things new and old' (Matt. 13. 52), whence its value in the hands of the Theatines.

³¹ A legal tract in the Biblioteca Municipale at Palermo shews the Theatines contesting for their right to appoint the University Chaplain, in the mid-nineteenth century.

ronius,' a blunder which is not to be found in any of the known Latin translations of the Panegyric, and its probable source therefore will be Father Grasso's little book, used by Maggio and abbreviated by Falcone.

It may be suggested, therefore, that the cult of St. Gregory in this form is an importation by the Theatine Fathers from Naples. And in this case Grasso's book will be substantially incorporated in the Palermo book. Clearly the interest aroused at Santa Maria della Catena was very strong. For in 1709 a certain Donna Dorotea Agliati è Cicula left money to the Theatines for the perpetual celebration of a *feſta* there in honour of San Gregorio. Record of this fact has been preserved because in 1849 the Theatines found it necessary to take proceedings at law to obtain the payment of this legacy.³² The then heirs of the property which had belonged to Donna Dorotea had dishonoured their obligation, which, say the Fathers, had been continuously honoured for 140 years.

As late as 1784, they had printed a fresh little book of devotions to the saint and dedicated it to the Princess di Paterno. It is entitled San Gregorio Taumaturgo, Divozioni in suo honore and printed in Palermo.³³

It was shortly after this that the Order fell on evil days, and the church of Santa Maria della Catena passed out of its hands. It is now in those of the *parocco* of San Nicolo alla Kalsa. But still, in the chapel to the south of the high altar, there hangs the *immagine*. It is a good seventeenth-century painting of a venerable bishop in his cope sitting beside a wall above which appears foliage (no doubt that of the staff that became a tree), while a landscape — that presumably of Pontus — forms the background. To the right of the main figure kneels a Theatine Father in surplice and scarf.

Two questions suggest themselves as to this cultus of St. Gregory at Palermo. In its character it is evidently an in-

³² A summary of the case is printed, under the title 'Per la real casa Teatina, contro i Sign' D'Espinosa e Lucifero, Gran Corte Civile.' It is pamphlet 26 in the volume LXI. D. 52 in the Biblioteca Municipale.

³³ Alessio Narbone, *Bibliografia Sicola sistematica* (1854), p. 421. There is no copy in the library at Palermo.

novation and introduction by the Theatine Fathers. But were they moved thereto by the previous existence of any popular cultus of the saint in the Sicilian capital? The answer seems to be in the negative. No notice of our saint appears in any of the plentiful Sicilian hagiography.³⁴ The mosaics in the cathedral at Monreale and in the Palatine Chapel at Palermo are full of portraits of Greek saints, but St. Gregory Thaumaturgus is not among them. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that the hagiological interest in the Thaumaturge at Palermo is wholly an introduction from Naples made by the Theatines in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, it has left a mark on the use of the archdiocese. St. Gregory is a minor patron of Palermo.³⁵ The calendar of the Palatine Chapel gives him special notice.³⁶ But of the popular interest of the Palermitans in him there remains no sign.

At the time, this offshoot of the Neapolitan interest in our saint attained considerable importance. There were probably, during the seventeenth century, a number of less flourishing local offshoots. The Jesuit writer Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani published at Florence in 1730 a *Vita di S. Gregorio Taumaturgo, colle divozioni da praticarsi ne' 17 mercoledì a suo onore*.³⁷ It is the tradition of devotional practice exemplified at Palermo, and derived from Naples, that meets us again here. Why Florentine Jesuits adopted it does not appear. But by this time the relics of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus at the great Jesuit house of São Roque at Lisbon had become famous, and the Jesuit Fathers from Portugal coming and going on the Roman road

³⁴ Agostino Inveges, in *Palermo Sacro* (1650), deals with the hagiological interests of his time in great detail. Five times (pp. 235, 237, 239, 241, 256) he cites Baronius' *Annales* on St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, but in a purely historical way, shewing no hagiological knowledge of him. Equally silent is Rocco Pirro, *Sicilia Sacra* (1630, revised edn., 1733). So also F. Baronius, *De Majestate Panormitana* (1630), Antonio Mongitore, *Martyrologium Panormitanum, Sanctorum Civium et Patronum urbis* (1742), and the modern Giuseppe Pitré, *Feste Patronali in Sicilia* (1900).

³⁵ F. G. Holweck, *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* (1924), p. 450.

³⁶ Pietro Naselli, *Kalendarium sacrum Constantinianum* (1859).

³⁷ U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources du Moyen Age* (1877-86), col. 920. There was a Roman edition in 1729 (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la C. de J.*, VI, p. 366). Patrignani died in 1733. I have not discovered a copy of the book existing.

were wont to halt at Florence. From them may have come the incentive to this devotion.

There are other possible signs of a special interest in our saint, such as the hymns in his honour in the collection of Athanasius Guggenberger, monk of St. Gall, published in 1661,³⁸ and the manuscript hymnary of Simon Gourdain in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, dated 1730.³⁹ But they probably represent nothing more than the interest due to the revised Breviary.⁴⁰

V. STALLETTI

It is now time to return to Stalletti,¹ where we have already seen that the influence of the new knowledge must have begun to be felt well before the end of the sixteenth century. Stalletti at this time counted as a small township, boasting in all four churches, or perhaps five, and a population of some 3000 inhabitants.² Apart from Squillace itself, which was a little bigger, it was the most considerable place in the tiny diocese. Though it had churches, it is probable that it remained only one parish. The church of San Gregorio Taumaturgo was not a secular church; though at the next glimpse that we get after Terracina's visitation its human personnel seems to have been

³⁸ U. Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnicum* (1920), under the Incipit, *Magne virtutum Pater intueri*. The collection is called *Hymnorum sacrorum libri quatuor de sanctis*. The hymn is on p. 374.

³⁹ The volume *Nouveau Fonds Latin 14840* is the second of three manuscript books of hymns written or copied by Gourdain, and formerly belonging to the abbey library of St. Victor. Gourdain was a Canon-regular of St. Victor and died in 1729. The hymn *Non obsolescet Gregorii fides* is on p. 882.

⁴⁰ Of the continuance of a special interest in Naples itself there is evidence in the reprint in 1793 by Paolo Severino of Naples of Falcone's *Compendio* (without acknowledgment), changing only the rubrics of the Soliloquies to make them serve daily for a week for any person, and not seven Wednesdays for different classes of persons.

The taking by Neapolitan ecclesiastics, when made prelates *in partibus*, of the titular archbishopric of Neocaesarea may reflect the same interest; e.g., Gregorio Carbonelli, under Paul V (Aceto, *op. cit.*, p. 74), and Cardinal Mario Alberico, in 1674.

¹ The substance of this section is predominantly drawn from the little book of Raimundo Romano described in this section. As the Naples copy appears possibly the only one in existence, no reference to chapters and pages is made; and in the absence of reference, it is to be assumed that the matter is drawn from Romano.

² L. Giustiniani, *Dizionario Geografica-ragionata del Regno di Napoli* (1805), *s.n.* Stalletti.

reduced to one bedesman dignified with the title of *Romito* (hermit). It had, of course, its non-resident and purely titular abbot-commendatory, who took its revenues, paid the Romito his pittance, and provided for the church fabric and the saying of masses by secular priests. The abbey of San Gregorio might have followed not a few other Greek monasteries, and ended by being nothing but a farm whose rents went to some ecclesiastical person to whom they had been granted, had it not been for the local popular interest in the 'tomb' of the Thaumaturge. The condition of the building in the seventeenth century was as follows: it was small and very unpretentious, having one tiny side-chapel. Against the wall of the latter stood the *tumuletto* or chest containing the bones of the saint. This chest stood about 20 inches high, and was somewhat over twice as long. It was furnished with little windows through which the relics could be seen, and had a small curtained aperture giving access to a shelf on which stood a *conchetta* or shallow dish of water blessed with the relics, to be used for exorcism or for the sick. Over the *tumuletto* burned a perpetual lamp.

The church was situated on the very edge of the village, with a small yard or *piazza* in front of it. The further side of this yard was occupied by the *timogue*, which is the Calabrian name for little granary houses, where the produce of the abbey land was stored until sold for the benefit of the Commendatory. From the outer side of yard and church, the hill fell steep away down to a valley running towards the sea.

In 1636, the Dominican Giuseppe della Cornia became bishop of Squillace, and held the office twenty years.³ In him once more the little diocese had a pastor who brought it into touch with a group of important people at Rome, for he was half-brother to Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino. Very soon after his arrival, Della Cornia began to concern himself over the condition of the church of San Gregorio at Stalletti. First, it was the resting-place of a famous Father of the primitive church; and further, local opinion was agitated in the matter. It was opportune that the commendatory abbacy had just been bestowed

³ Domenico Feudale, *Scylacenorum antistitum chronologia* (1783), *sub anno* 1635.

upon a young ecclesiastic destined for the highest honours, Nicolo Albergati-Ludovisi of Bologna, kinsman to the archbishop, Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi.⁴ The Bishop of Squillace made suit to Abbot Nicolo with such success that in 1639 the latter set aside the greater part of the revenue of the abbacy over a term of years for the restoration of the church. About five years later, only a short while before he became archbishop of Bologna and a cardinal, the Commendatory visited Stalletti in person. He was greatly shocked to find the miserable and neglected character of his 'abbey,' not so much in relation to his own responsibilities as to the miracle-working relics of which he found himself trustee. His visit must have been just previous to two raids upon Stalletti by Turkish men-of-war. He projected therefore simply the adornment and restoration of the church. But the news of the raids caused him to add to his plans the construction of a vault for the relics, of sixteen palms' depth below the high altar.⁵ This altar itself he provided should be erected in the most costly marbles. The whole scheme was not completed until 1660, in the episcopate of Mgr. Ascanio della Cornia, who deposited the relics in a crystal reliquary in this vault, where they might be safe from the sacrilegious hands of the Turks.

The main work of restoration, however, was complete in 1648, and Bishop Giuseppe della Cornia was eager to inaugurate, without delay, a new chapter in the cultus of St. Gregory at Stalletti. With an eye, no doubt, to popularizing it among the gentry and clergy of the neighbourhood, he moved his younger half-brother, the Jesuit Nicolo Maria Pallavicino,⁶ to write a little *Vita di San Gregorio Taumaturgo*. Although this is the earliest of Pallavicino's surviving works, he had already gained

⁴ Born 1604, became archpriest of Bologna 1635, and died 1687.

⁵ For this detail in the story the source is Vincenzo d'Amato, *Memorie della città di Catanzaro* (1670), p. 230. A copy of this rare work was brought to England by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, who gave it in 1825 to the British Museum.

⁶ A Bolognese Jesuit, born in 1621, younger brother of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, historian of the Council of Trent. For the family see I. Affo's *Life of the Cardinal*. For Nicolo see C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1869), *s.n.* Nicolo was considered, himself, for the Sacred College. His *Life of the Thaumaturge* was his first published work. His last was published in 1692, the year of his death.

a reputation for being a most elegant writer, which this little monograph was calculated to increase. It was published at Rome in 1649 by the house of Corbelletti, the cost of the edition being defrayed by Cardinal Nicolo Ludovisi. But the same licence of General Carrafa that covered this Roman edition covered also a somewhat inferior reprint made at Bologna in the same year by the Bolognese Carlo Zenero.⁷ This is dedicated to Giacomo Sartorio, prior of the Augustinian convent at Bologna, and Zenero, in making the dedication, describes the work as *da una delle più franche penne che oggidì volano per lo cielo Italiano*. The Bologna reprint, in short, testifies to the reputation Pallavicino was beginning to have in his own city; though Zenero may have had half an eye to spare for the Cardinal-archbishop. Pallavicino prefixes a dedication to his Roman edition. It is to Bishop della Cornia. But at the same time he thanks the Cardinal for his generous devotion to the tomb of the Thaumaturge. In this he has shewn *la magnificenza di eccelso Principi, e pietà di zelatissimo vescovo; ed ha convertita in regia di maestà la chiesa* (apostrophizing the saint) *destinata al riposo delle vostre ossa, la qual era prima quasi tigurio di squalidezza*. In the judgment of another contemporary witness the church, though small, was now to be accounted one of the most handsome in the province.

So much for due acknowledgments to the two dignitaries: there remains the special purpose of the book, which is to enlist the keen interest and local pride of the people of the diocese in the cultus of the saint. And so the author goes on to say that the pious city of Squillace (Pallavicino seems to have no idea of the separate existence of Stalletti) was determined that the saint should suffer such neglect no more, but that his bones, instead of lying unprofitably in the tomb, should be preciousy secured for the benefit of the faithful. Evidently the young author had not troubled to get a clear view of the local situation, beyond the fact that the people of his half-brother's diocese were to be encouraged to take a proper pride in this

⁷ Copies of both editions are to be found in the Biblioteca Apostolica at the Vatican. The Roman edition is Stamp. Barb. T. iv. 34 and the Bolognese is Ferraioli vi. 84.

undertaking. And no doubt the little book was effective in this respect, because the neighbouring gentry began to visit the restored church and to make gifts. The household of the Prince della Roccella is described by a local writer of the time as 'the oldest in devotion to San Gregorio.' The Prince and his family gave many gifts, including a very fine set of white damask vestments embroidered in gold which he gave in 1681. Prince di Nicastro gave a silver thurible and asperges; and so forth.

Apart from its interest as a document for the history of the cultus of the Thaumaturge, Pallavicino's book is interesting as an example of the highly sophisticated outlook of the promoters of the new movement for the cultus of relics. Pallavicino appreciated only too well the difficulty created for his purpose by Nyssen's story of how the Thaumaturge ordered that his remains should not be separately buried in a tomb of their own.⁸ He must have been caused some anxious thought by this, but training and ingenuity enabled him to triumph. He enters upon a kind of colloquy, in which he reasons with the saint about this matter. *Ma qual voto è questo, O Gregorio?* he exclaims. Was it that you did not want the benefit of your relics to be confined to Neocaesarea? Did you mean that your remains, like a beneficent planet, should carry the influence of grace to every land? And your dead body be the world-wide Thaumaturgus in your stead? Surely you cannot have meant your relics to be lost! You would not, by your humility, prejudice posterity. Stealing relics is worse than stealing gold, and it would be a crime to make away with the Church's treasure, like that. But if you really meant us not to have relics (Pallavicino's naïveté at this point is delightful), it is a great disservice that you are doing to the munificent Cardinal, to the illustrious Monsignor della Cornia, and to the pious city of Squillace! Before such an intolerable supposition our author comes to a standstill. And then a glorious way out of the *impasse* appears to him. "We appeal from You dying to You immortal in heaven. Follow the example of the Saviour Himself. Fleeing from honour while on earth, rejoice to receive it, now You are in heaven!"

⁸ M.P.G. 46, 956 A.

Pallavicino's little book is thus lively and readable. But there is something almost cynical in the extreme pragmatism of its outlook. It lays down as an initial principle that virtue cannot have offspring unless it be wedded to miracle. The author therefore conceives his task to be the encouragement of ethical virtue among his half-brother's flock, but by means of devotion to the newly embellished shrine of the Thaumaturge, quickened through a telling use of Nyssen's wonder-tale. Historicity, for him, takes second place to the interests of religion in the present. And so he avoids any approach to the question of the authenticity of the relics, and makes no enquiry as to the means by which they reached Calabria. The work, in short, exhibits a mentality clever rather than frank, and extravagantly 'ecclesiastical' in its interests, unfortunately representative of a large proportion of his contemporaries in the Society.

It is therefore all the more opportune for the purposes of this study that this little *Life of the Thaumaturge* does not stand alone. Another was published thirty-five years later by a native of Stalletti actuated by a much more simple and unsophisticated desire to foster the cultus of the most famous patron of his town. It embodies abundant learning, but has a directness of appeal that must have made it, much more than Pallavicino's, a book for the local people. The author was one Raimundo Romano, who had been a boy in Stalletti at the time when the beautification of the church of San Gregorio was begun, but later entered the Dominican Order. By 1662 he was Master of the Novices at S. Maria sopra Minerva at Rome, and had published a *Compendio dell'orazione mentale*.⁹ Later life brought him back to his native Calabria as a member of the convent at Catanzaro, and so to an opportunity of putting his learning at the service of the cultus of the local saints. His first work in this respect was for the see-town, Squillace, and was a *Vita di Sant' Agazio, Protettore della città e diocesi di Squillace*, published in 1680. After that he was occupied with a history of his convent, under the title *Chronicon monasterii Do-*

⁹ J. Quetif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (1721), *s.n.* who know only this work.

minicanorum Catacii, finished in 1682 but never published. The manuscript was kept in the convent library.¹⁰ His work on the Thaumaturge was his next and last, and was completed before January 8, 1684, which is the date of its *imprimatur*. The original edition by Paci of Naples seems to have entirely disappeared. But the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples has a copy of the reprint known to Chevalier, made by Francesco Ricciardi in 1728.¹¹ The recommendation for the grant of *facoltà* by the Master-general of Dominicans, de Monroy, is signed by Giuseppe Squillace, rector of the convent of the Most Holy Rosary at Reggio, so that it is possible that by 1684, Romano had removed to this house. The full title of the book is *Compendioso Ristretto della vita, virtù e miracoli del glorioso San Gregorio Taumaturgo, vescovo e confessore, avvocato di casi piu ardui e disperati: e della miracolosa venuta del suo sacro corpo dall' Armenia in Calabria Superiore nella Terra di Stalatti, dove riposa, e si venera con somma divozione, come singular Protettore di detta Terra*. The author describes himself as *della medesima Terra*. In his preface he makes confession on behalf of his fellow-townsmen that they have failed in their duty as custodians of such precious relics, *officina d'infiniti miracoli*, in that they have not sufficiently honoured the saint themselves, or spread his fame. The little book is offered as reparation for past neglect, and to forward the cause of the cultus of St. Gregory, which clearly engages all the personal religious feeling of the writer. And if the people of his own country are those whom he is primarily engaged in rousing to new devotion, he means to spread to anywhere where he is able to persuade others of the excellence of this heavenly advocate, the practice of invoking him.

The work is in two parts: the first a life of the saint drawn mainly from Nyssen's Panegyric, but supplemented from other sources, and the second concerned with the story of the cultus and miracles of the saint at Stalletti. Romano is an able and vivid writer as well as a man of considerable learning. For the

¹⁰ Angelo Zavarroni, *Bibliotheca Calabria* (1753), *s.n.*, mentioning only these last two works. Chevalier, *Répertoire*, *l.c.*, mentions the *Vita di San Gregorio*.

¹¹ Class-marked XLVIII. a. 36.

first part of his book he has pressed into service not only Baroni-
 nius and Belarmine, but such older volumes as he found no doubt
 in the friary library at Catanzaro or at Reggio, such as Vincent
 of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale* and 'Anthony of Florence.'
 That he has been influenced by a knowledge of Pallavicino's
 book appears from the fact that he follows him in replacing
 Nyssen's story of the church which was proof against earth-
 quake by Rufinus' story of the church site miraculously ac-
 quired, and follows it immediately by the story of the plague.
 Apart from this, his manner of treatment is considerably dif-
 ferent. His point of view is more devout and naïve, and he
 puts his own fervour for the cult of the Thaumaturge into his
 pictures of the events related by Nyssen, as, for example, where
 he imagines a stream of pilgrims visiting Neocaesarea and
 venerating the autograph copy of the Revealed Creed. For the
 rest, he has studied as widely as was in his power to make this
 monograph on the saint as complete as possible.

But it is the second half of the book that has the greatest
 interest for the modern reader. Beginning with the theory that
 the body of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus floated to his native
 shore in company with that of St. Bartholomew, when the latter
 was making his journey, as the famous legend runs, to his
 chosen resting-place in the island of Lipari, Romano starts to
 take the people of Stalletti to task for the poorness of their
 memory of those benefits which have been wrought since the
 body of the saint was among them in the church in their own
 town. We must remember that at this time Stalletti was still
 at the height of its prosperity. The population, indicated by
 the number of hearths, as given in Lorenzo Giustiniani's tables,
 shows the peak as being reached between the middle of the six-
 teenth and seventeenth centuries. Between 1533 and 1596 the
 number rose from 157 to 239. In 1648, the year of the resto-
 ration of the church, there were 230 hearths in Stalletti. By
 1669 the number was down to 124 (although it is difficult to
 square this fact with the arguments of Romano as to the con-
 tinual prosperity of Stalletti under the protection of St. Gregory:
 indeed he admits, in regard to the troubles of 1645, that punish-
 ment within measure had been heartily deserved by the town).

In thus acting as remembrancer to his townsfolk of the benefits they had received through the protection of St. Gregory, Romano succeeds in writing as vivid a little review of local history as could very well be imagined. He starts with the earthquake of 1624, and reminds them that they got off scot free. And then the revolution in the kingdom which broke out in 1647 beginning at Palermo. Here he admits that there were low fellows at Stalletti who took part in it, but thanks to the saint there was no loss of life, destruction of property, robbery, or anything of that kind, though one or two persons who should have known better assumed 'the working man' in their behaviour and in their talk for a short while. Then the plague of 1656. Here the people of Stalletti, who had no walls and therefore could not shut out travellers, took no trouble over quarantine, and again escaped, although the plague had raged only five miles away. And then there was *la carestia* (the famine), when the kindly land ceased to be a mother and became a stepmother. This evidently follows close after the plague. Romano notes that if anywhere should have suffered, it should have been the land of Stalletti, because of the absence of Prince Borgia, its landlord (who at this time was viceroy of Brazil),¹² the land being left in the hands of the *affittatori*. And yet once more, thanks to the saint, whereas in Calabria generally only one house in ten had the means to live decently, in Stalletti there were more than one hundred such houses, and over ten with an income of above 1000 *scudi*. There were indeed only three or four native beggars in the place.

Romano then turns to the subject of the Turkish raids. This exercised him especially, and he had gone to the trouble of obtaining an affidavit from twelve old townsfolk attesting the miraculous withdrawal of the Turks from before Stalletti in 1595. This is preparatory to dealing with the more thorny

¹² This was Francisco Borgia, son of Don Juan, Count of Ficalho, grandson therefore of St. Francis Borgia. He married Anna, daughter of Prince Pedro, heiress to the Principedom of Squillace, and took the title. He was viceroy from 1651 to 1658, when he died. The title passed to Maria, who died in 1685, from whom it went to Francesca, who died in 1695. The family was absent from Calabria from the death of Prince Pedro. See *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, S. Franciscus Borgia, I (1894), p. 772.

subject of the raids of 1644 and 1645. For the moment he turns aside to consider less questionable interventions of the saint. First there was the number of cures that had taken place at his tomb, or by the drinking of water in which some tiny particle of relics of the saint had been placed. Then there was the miracle at Borgia.¹³ In 1648, a year of heavy rain, a high rock fell and blocked a small stream so as to form a lake. From this in the summer time came evil exhalations, and an infectious fever ensued. In the following summer things grew worse. Then came Bishop della Cornia and preached to them in their parish church, recommending submission to the divine will, but proposing the one remedy known to him by which they might hope to ward off such a calamity as this infectious fever, namely, the intercession of the glorious San Gregorio *avvocato potentissimo ne' casi disperati*. The good bishop therefore recommended them to take St. Gregory as their patron, and offered to give them a small relic from his holy body to put in a statue which they should acquire. Consequently on May 1, 1650, that is to say, just before the third summer, two priests from Borgia solemnly carried the relic back to their village, where the parishioners elected the saint as perpetual protector and confirmed their act by a public instrument. They sent to Naples for an image of the saint¹⁴ and dedicated May 1 as his annual *festa* with a parochial procession. These acts naturally, as Father Romano argues, caused the place immediately to become completely healthy.

Then follows an account more exact and vivid than careful of delicacy of the miraculous curing, in 1663, of Father Francisco Antonio Lembo, a Dominican of Catanzaro,¹⁵ when in extremities from gallstones. The story is one which gives a very clear view of the way in which these propagations of cult took place.

¹³ Here again Romano took a deposition upon oath.

¹⁴ Naples was therefore known to be authoritative for matters connected with this cultus.

¹⁵ A man of some mark who initiated the Accademia degli Aggirati, in 1661, at Catanzaro (V. d'Amato). But on his going to Naples the institution failed, the Theatines starting an Accademia degli Aggirati in their church of Santa Caterina (Giustini, *op. cit.*, III, 390-391).

The impression caused by the miracle was followed up by the purchase from Naples of another image of the saint, this time to be placed in the Dominican church at Catanzaro. The relic with which the miracle had been worked was placed within this image, and the annual *fiesta* on November 17 attracted a large public, including, as Romano notes, many of the gentry. It is in this last respect that we no doubt should see the effectiveness of such things as Pallavicino's little brochure.

And now Romano returns to the Turks. There are those incredulous people who say, How was it that St. Gregory did not deliver his village from the Turks in 1644 and 1645, when twice in a twelvemonth they sacked and burnt and did great destruction? Were these calamities, asks the good Father, due to the impotence of the saint or to the sins of the men of Stalletti? And he then proceeds, having thus suggested that some degree of punishment was clearly due, to show that the saint performed so many and detailed marvels that he, at least, comes out of the incident triumphant.

In the mid summer of 1644, forty Turkish galleys sailed from Stamboul for Tripoli in Barbary on an expedition against the Bassa of Tripoli. But at Navarino the admiral dropped ten galleys, no one knows why, and sailed with the remaining thirty into the Gulf of Squillace. They landed on the Stalletti shore on July 16. It transpired from interrogation of three Turkish prisoners whom the men of Stalletti captured and took before the Governor of Catanzaro, what had been the movements of the Turkish navy. But at the purpose of the raid the Italians could only guess. The providential circumstances now follow. First the galleys came to shore a little after midnight on the beach of the *Mare di Soverato*.¹⁶ At this time the village of Stalletti was in deep sleep, and if, without the intervention of St. Gregory, the Turks had landed on the *Mare della Coscia* beach — one mile off as against seven — all would have been lost. The Turks presently discovered that they were on the

¹⁶ On the other (S-W) side of the Capo di Stalletti, some eight miles from Squillace. D. Martire (see below) derives Coscia from the *Casse* in which the saints came to shore!

wrong beach and put to sea again. Even then the flagship ran aground on a sandbank and delayed them further. Thus it was clear dawn when they landed on the *Coscia* beach. No coast-guard had sighted them, and the person who first did so was Don Pietro Blandino, a devout priest who was up early and had stopped to say his office on the little *piazza* in front of the church of San Gregorio. Now from this *piazza* one looks down the valley called the Valle di Volcano to the sea; and as he stood there in the early morning light the priest saw a big ship pass across the mouth of the valley, and then another, and another, till he had counted twenty. Now the coastguards had given no signal, but the good Father began to be troubled, and, illuminated by San Gregorio, he ran off to the house of one Giovanni Andrea Romano (a kinsman of our author?), who was a seafaring man, and asked him what he thought about these ships. Romano, sitting up in bed, and listening to their description, pronounced them to be Turks; and leaping up he led others to the church of Santa Maria del Soccorso, formerly an Austin friary, which had a lofty balcony from which the whole beach could be seen, and they saw that the first galleys were beached and the crews landing. Romano declared them to be Turks, and prophesied that half an hour would see them in the town. So the men ran round the town crying the people up, and telling them to stop to take nothing but to fly, or they would be slaves. And as the citizens poured out of the town, so the Turks poured in.

Yet all the folk of Stalletti escaped except four women who stopped to pack clothes. They, having thus failed to make their escape, hid behind a hedge. But they had been followed by a dog, who, when the Turks came near, commenced to bark. The Turks guessed that the barking dog was in human company, and so they ran and captured the four. One of them was an old woman, and when evening came, the Turkish admiral ordered her to be left behind on the beach. Another was a Clarissan nun of the Bizoche nunnery. She was some years in Barbary before her brother, who was none other than Father Blandino, obtained her ransom. She was forty when captured, and after ransom returned to Stalletti to end her days devoutly

in a good old age. The other two were a mother and daughter, both of the poor people who could not be ransomed, and they were heard of no more.

Another benefit, argues Romano, was that though the Turks stopped to plunder when they could easily have followed up and captured many more people, they did not carry off their spoils. Admittedly they did the most wanton damage. They even wrenched off the bolts of doors and chests, and pulled out nails in walls. (At this point we may, in view of what follows, interject the suggestion that what the Turks were really after was iron to fire from their guns.) They threw things into the streets, broke jars of wine, burnt things, and killed the live stock. Their sacrileges were horrible. They hacked pictures in pieces with their scimitars, and above all, their barbarity was exercised upon statues. Thus, they cut off the head and arms of a life-sized St. James, coloured, in the parish church, and hacked its body. They desecrated, hacked and mutilated beyond recognition a statue of Our Lady in Santa Maria del Soccorso. But their worst outrage was on the St. Leonard in his chapel in the church of San Rocco. Everyone knows that San Leonardo is the advocate of poor Christians enslaved to the Turks. Therefore their spite against him shewed itself; they gouged out his eyes, cut off his ears and nose, lips and arms, and so hacked his body that he was a statue no more. In this same church also they made firewood of two life-sized crucifixes *and yet* they did no harm at all to the statue of San Gregorio in his church.¹⁷ They must have seen the tabernacle in which it was standing over its altar. Think of it, three thousand Turks and plentiful renegades¹⁸ and none of them dared to touch San Gregorio! In the breast of this statue was a little door with lock and key, behind which was kept a bone of the arm of his sacred body which it was customary to offer for the veneration of visitors. The door was so flimsy that it could be prized open

¹⁷ The restorers had thus, before 1644, had recourse to Naples. D'Amato, *op. cit.*, p. 229, while saying that in 1644 the churches were *trapazzate con indecoro*, attributes the iconoclasm to the second landing, in 1645.

¹⁸ D'Amato states categorically that the Turks were led by an Italian renegade, with a score to pay off. Romano mentions that there were various such conjectures.

with the point of a knife. Then, above the *tumuletto* burned the perpetual lamp of San Gregorio. Surely, argues Romano, that must make the Turks understand, as would the ornamentation of the chapel, that this was a specially sacred place. As for the *tumuletto* itself, Romano asserts that they could have smashed it with a kick — a remark that suggests that it was a wooden chest rotten with age. This accords well with what Vincenzo d'Amato implies, that the *tumulo* (as he calls it) had been brought from the place where the relics had previously lain.

Both men agree that the way in which the Turks left the chapel unharmed was miraculous: “poiche miracolosamente anco in quei barbari visse la riverenza,” says d'Amato; while Romano relates at length that although the Turks sacked the other churches and most of the houses, and bivouacked the whole day long on the church *piazza*, they did nothing to the church, and did not even set fire to the granaries belonging to the abbey. So ends the first visit of the Turks. On July 6, 1645, they returned. Romano is too full of his own interpretation of the episode to trouble to understand the purpose of the Turks. But to judge from their actual movements as described, they must have thought that their approach was expected, and they might be attacked by superior forces. Probably it was the need of water and provisions that drove them to land on a shore they knew, although it was hostile. They arrived in full daylight at the hour of vespers and lay with their sails furled, waiting for night. The people of Stalletti went forth from the village with their portable goods, leaving fifty armed men waiting behind a barrier at the top of the main street leading down to the sea. This party was armed with arquebuses and pistols, and their purpose was simply to give the Turks one good volley as they came up the hill and then retreat. The Turks landed about the fourth hour of the night, and formed four companies each with its own standard. They advanced slowly, and detected the ambush in the main street from the glowing of the matches which were used for lighting the charge of the arquebuses. So they turned back and advanced up another narrow street, while the garrison, detecting their movements, beat a retreat. This time,

Romano thinks, the Turks had come to raid for slaves. There was no sack or robbery of houses, but the companies broke up and went off to pursue fugitives. They took the roads leading to the hills and went as far as Monte della Paladina. There their standards drooped to the right and they changed direction towards the village of Mentauro.¹⁹ In so doing they had passed and repassed numbers of the people of Stalletti hiding behind hedges and vines. The Turks seemed blind, and San Gregorio must have wished to repeat his celebrated miracle recited in his Life.²⁰ The only man captured by the Turks was an old gentleman of seventy, the notary, Agazio Santacroce. They came up with him as he was slowly toiling towards Monte Paladina, and it is believed that he died under the first blows which they struck him. Among the fugitives was the hermit attached to the church of San Gregorio, Brother Francesco di Gerace. He did not wish to leave the statue of the saint lest the Turks should do this time what they had not done on the former occasion, and so he put the statue on his shoulders and took the Monte della Paladina road. But he was an old man, and grew weary, so he decided to change his route and stop at the head of a great valley under Mentauro about a mile from Stalletti. From here he heard some fugitives shouting, "Keep off the Paladina road, the Turks are coming that way," and in his panic to make haste he lost his footing and rolled, statue and all, about the space of one hundred yards down to the stream at the bottom of the valley. The slope was rough and steep, and the villagers who saw it were petrified with terror and could only gasp the prayer, "San Gregorio, take care of your poor hermit and your statue." But as it fell out, the hermit and the statue reached the bottom of the valley quite unharmed and in the evening, when the Turks were gone, the hermit carried the statue triumphantly back to the church.

When they returned to Stalletti, the Turks set themselves to sack and rob, and were particularly busy on the *piazza* in front of San Gregorio, where villagers standing on a hill half a

¹⁹ Which they sacked, as also Gasparina (D'Amato).

²⁰ M.P.G. 46, 948. But the account of the Turks' movements is irreconcilable with the supposition that it was a slave-raid.

mile distant saw them trying to set fire to the abbey granaries of San Gregorio. In this they failed and gave it up, no doubt guessing what was the power that was working against them.

The account of D'Amato agrees, except that he does not know of the adventure of the Romito. On the other hand, he has a great story to tell of the military exploits of the chivalry of Catanzaro, but for whom, in his view, Squillace would have been sacked. But even so it is clear that the warriors of Catanzaro acted with wonderful discretion, and that the Turks got away with a number of cattle. He admits that it was Stalletti men who ambushed a couple of Turkish stragglers. And altogether, nobody appears to have deserved *more* credit than San Gregorio. So at this point, D'Amato turns to the consequence of the raids, in Cardinal Ludovisi's provision for the future safety of the relics of San Gregorio, once more marvellously saved. And in this account we get our clearest view of what there was to save, from a person who had probably seen with his own eyes. The contents of *la cassa di cristallo* that went down into the vault under the high altar are described as 'le sacre cenere e l'ossa.' But, adds D'Amato, there remained *un osso grande d'un braccio* that was not in the *cassa*, which was kept out for exposition to the visitors who came from near and far to venerate the relics.

This arm bone is the relic, as Romano tells, that was kept in the breast of the statue of the saint over the altar in his chapel. And he also knows that *i forestieri* come to venerate it.

Having thus triumphantly vindicated the reputation of his saint in view of the Turkish raids, Romano sets himself to reprove the people of Stalletti, who have possessed this treasure for 800 years and done so little to propagate devotion to their patron, and he adds an appendix in which he tells the story of the loss by the people of the island of Lipari of the body of St. Bartholomew through their lack of zeal for the saint, and leaves the folk of Stalletti to draw the moral.

The book ends with the same *responsorio* as has been already seen in Falcone's book in use at Palermo, and Romano says that this service was printed in Naples in 1666, and a second edition

in 1678 with a wood-block portrait of the saint. This justifies us in attributing the service, with its hymn *Accurrite gentes*, if not to Grasso, at least to a Neapolitan use earlier than 1666. The *responsorio* is followed by another way of devotion which consists of seventeen Paters and Aves daily. In extreme need one is counselled to have said seventeen consecutive masses, which one is assured is very efficacious. A devotion of considerable value is to say the seventeen Paters and Aves once a week beginning with the *festa* on November 17. Obviously the devotional scheme here proposed must have some connecting link with that based upon the same *responsorio* at Palermo.

It is now time to turn to the account given by Romano of the manner in which he supposes the body of the saint to have come to Stalletti. The story as he tells it is as follows. In the year 333 (how he arrives at this does not appear, especially as he had Baronius' Annals to guide him) the bodies of St. Bartholomew, San Pipino, San Luciano, Sant' Agazio and the Thaumaturge all lay at Neocaesarea in Pontus. Our authors, says Romano, did not say explicitly if they were all in one church, but we may assume that they were probably all in one crypt in leaden coffins with their names written on them. We wonder who are the "authors" to whom Romano refers. It seems probable from what he says shortly afterwards that his chief source here was Vincent of Beauvais from whose *Speculum Historiale* he could obtain a Latin digest of the sermon of Theodore the Studite made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius,²¹ but he has been ready, whether or not with the help of later writers, to add to the substance of the matter presented by Vincent.²² So he goes on to say that the idolatrous servants of the Emperor and the Armenians, who were heathen, hearing of the concourse of

²¹ *Speculum Historiale*, Book ix, c. 87. As Romano knows, this is in the *Legenda Aurea*, also, of Giacomo di Voragine (Book ii). The Studite does not say that the four saints came from the same place as the Apostle, but merely that they had been cast out by the heathen for a like *σημειούργια*. The legend as regards St. Bartholomew, but not his companions, was known to Gregory of Tours in the 6th century. M.P.L. 71, 734.

²² He had Symeon Metaphrastes on St. Bartholomew 'apportato dal P. Tommaso Trugillo nel suo Santuario.' This is the Spaniard Tomas de Truxillo, who flourished at the end of the 16th century. His *Conciones*, printed in Barcelona, 1591, were popular, and a book on dress, translated into Italian, was published at Venice in 1610 under the title *Delle Pompe*.

people coming to these holy relics, carried the lead coffins and cast them into the sea. (Romano thinks Neocaesarea is on the coast.) So the coffins floated away, until Luciano reached Messina, Pipino reached Melazzo, Sant' Agazio reached Squillace and the Thaumaturge came to shore near Stalletti. In this identification of places, Romano is evidently going beyond Giacomo di Voragine, Vincent of Beauvais, and their sources. But the idea is not his own. D'Amato had given the same ending to the story, fifteen years earlier.²³ And in the same year, 1670, in which D'Amato wrote, a Messinese patrician, Doctor Don Placido Caraffa, published a work of local history under the title *La Chiave dell' Italia*, following the model of the *Annals* of Baronius. Under the year 331 A.D. he records the coming of 'Pappiano à Milazzo, Luciano à Messina, Gregorio à Stallatti, ed Acacio in Squillaci.'²⁴ The mysterious assignment of a date may rest upon the idea that the virtues of Constantine brought the saints into the West. Constantine had entered Caraffa's story by his asserted grant of the title of *Strategus* to the chief magistrate of Messina in 330. The idea that pious princes receive relics and prosper in consequence is not consciously before Caraffa's mind, and it bears the hall-mark of the Iconoclastic controversy so clearly that it must be attributed to his ultimate sources. But whence had Caraffa culled this piece of dogma as regards Calabrian history?

He cites in the margin against this passage Ottavio Gaetano, Placido Reina and Melchior Inchofer. The first is the author of *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum* (1651) and the passage is that in the life of St. Bartholomew where he accounts for his companions, and gives the destination *Gregorius Columnnam Calabriae urbem*.²⁵ Reina, in his *Delle notizie istoriche della città di Messina* (1658), quotes from Gaetano, but renders his Latin into 'Gregorio à Calanna.'²⁶ Here is no mere translation but an identification. Calanna is an existing village a little north of Reggio on the Calabrian coast, and almost opposite Messina. It is a fairly obvious guess for a Messinese; and yet it does not seem that Reina was the first to make it. For there is the

²³ D'Amato, op. cit., p. 228.

²⁵ Gaetano, op. cit., II, p. 148.

²⁴ Caraffa, op. cit., p. 73.

²⁶ Reina, op. cit., II, p. 199.

further citation of Inchofer. Inchofer was a Viennese who was professed a Jesuit in Messina in 1607, and entered so hotly into the task of historical vindication of church traditions as to overstep the bounds of discretion. The centre of the fray was Constantine Lascari's forged Epistle of the Virgin to Messina. Inchofer published in 1629 a work, *Epistolae Beatae Virginis Mariae ad Messinenses Veritas*, which was placed on the Index, and occasioned for its author a summons to Rome. He had but uttered heartily the prevailing sentiment in Messina. And his other works of local sacred history were no doubt equally in favour with the Messinese. Reina, in his notes upon the journey of St. Bartholomew, refers the reader to Inchofer's 'molte erudite notizie intorno à S. Bartolomeo nel capo 46 delle sue Conghietture, quanto nella Mantissa, al numero 72.' Here then is the probable author of the Calanna identification, not of the landing-place of the Thaumaturge but of that of the unspecified St. Gregory who was the apostle's companion in travel. The Messinese were interested in the Thaumaturge, because he had received the draft of the Creed from the Blessed Virgin, just as their city had received the famous letter.²⁷

It is therefore clear that Inchofer and his successors in the interpretation of local sacred antiquities for Messina fixed the landing-place of the companion of St. Bartholomew as across the strait; but it did not occur to them to identify this St. Gregory with the favoured of their Patroness. So it appears that Caraffa's assertion does not rest upon his cited authors at all, being in fact a distinct alternative to the theory for which they stand. It must be accounted proof of slight care that he did not realize that the theory which he was retailing was not the established Messinese theory. But that makes it certain that he is not the author of the former. Romano, who knows and admires Caraffa, but seems quite unacquainted with the Calanna theory, excuses Caraffa for saying that San Gregorio came to Stalletti, because as a modern he is unaware of the fact that the saint first was at Colonna. By this Romano means the imaginary town on the Capo di Stalletti which Stalletti has

²⁷ Paolo Belli, *Gloria Messinensium* (1647), pp. 63 and 72.

replaced. Romano supports his theory with an argument from names. The Latin *columna* is the equivalent of the Greek *stilus*. The people of Stilus would be called Stiliti, and so the place to which they retreated from Columna, their original home, as the result of the ravaging of 'Niceforo,' is known as the Terra di Stalletti. A very pretty piece of argument, to be sure, and Romano can well excuse Caraffa for not having got so full an understanding!

We thus see that in 1670 a theory which had to do battle with a different theory, native to Messina, had begun to strike roots there, while it is very much at home in the Squillace-Catanzaro country. The latter will therefore have been the place of its origination, and the desire to explain how St. Gregory Thaumaturgus came thither will have been its motive. Messina was so much a business centre for Calabria Superior that it is not surprising that the theory, when well established as an accepted dogma round Squillace, should have become known to a Messinese antiquary. That he, though completely accepting the dogma, should have been so unable to quote chapter and verse for it that he quotes wrong chapter and verse without realising the fact, suggests that it had come to him 'on the air.' On the other hand, the idea never entered the head of Pallavicino. So the brain that conceived it must have been connected with the renewed cultus of the Thaumaturge following the restorations. The one thing it cannot have been is an old local tradition, going back to the days of the Greek monks. The Columna-Stilus equation could only be the work of an ingenious Latin. And once that is recognized, there is an end to any probability that ancient tradition is the source of the belief that the body of the Thaumaturge floated to that coast, and that the Grotta di San Gregorio was so called because it was the place where it came to land. Canon Minasi, who knew the Columna-Stalletti theory from the *Enciclopedia dell' Ecclesiastico*, and felt the impossibility of serious reception of the whole argument, yet fell to the desire to believe in local tradition, and says that the exuberance of popular fancy must here be working upon something.²⁸ But

²⁸ Cassiodoro, c. xvii.

in view of what has been said, the exuberant fancy will seem rather to have belonged to the amateur archaeologists of the Renaissance period, stimulated by a popular interest, namely the cultus of San Gregorio at Stalletti.²⁹

The thing that can be credited to local tradition is the name of Grotta di San Gregorio attaching to the cave of the fish-pond. Cassiodore describes his fish-pond in the words: *Fruitur marinis quoque copiosa delitiis, dum possidet vicina quae nos fecimus claustra Neptunia, ad pedem siquidem Moscii montis saxorum visceribus excavatis, fluenta Nerei gurgitis decenter immisimus, ubi agmen piscium sua libera captivitate ludentium.*³⁰

The Grotta di San Gregorio bears still the marks of human workmanship. But there is good reason for supposing that a natural cave preceded the work of man, which was designed to adapt it. Of a similar cave on the shore of Bivona Lenormant says that it was "sans doute dans l'antiquité un petit sanctuaire dédié à quelque divinité marine."³¹ And it is not improbable that the cave of which Cassiodore made the use which he describes, had a like history. Romano tells us that Grotta di Volcano was an alternative name, and that the valley which debouches by it was currently called Valle di Volcano. There was thus an agonistic reason for wishing to substitute a Christian for a pagan name in the case of the cave. The cave itself is some eighty feet in height, and big enough, according to the estimate which Romano makes, to hold 500 people. It has an opening to the east, where the sea enters the beginning of the

²⁹ J. Tamayus de Salazar, *Anamnesis omnium sanctorum Hispanicorum*, III (1655), pp. 115, 122, 123, under May 8, tells of relics of St. Acacius at Avila and Concha. Those at Avila he says were from Squillace (cujus sacra pignora primum ad Scyllaceum litus delata), and adds that he had their authentication under the hand of Sanchez d'Avila y Toledo, bishop of Plasencia. Sanchez held Plasencia for the last three years of his life, 1622-1625. Thus the identification of Sant' Agazio of Squillace with the Studite's Acacius got to Avila with a relic from Squillace by the beginning of the 17th century. And Romano seems to imply that he got the theory from de Truxillo, whose name is derived from a village in the diocese of Plasencia. Thus there are two strands of Spanish evidence of the Squillace interpretation of the Studite legend before the end of the 16th century, when the Sirletos were in office. G. Fiore, *Della Calabria Illustrata* (1743), p. 189, reproduces the whole theory, and flouts the Messinese view.

³⁰ M.P.L. 69, 866-868.

³¹ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, III, p. 227.

cave and runs in for a stone's-throw distance in a little canal. There is another opening towards the hills, about five feet high; and a passage leads away from the back of the cave. The people of Stalletti say that this very passage leads to the *piazza* where the church of the Thaumaturge now stands, a distance of a mile and a half, and they relate that formerly a tree grew on the church *piazza*, where in ancient times there used to appear of nights unearthly flames, the work of demons who lived in the cave. The cave used to be called the Cave of Vulcan, and in the cave the demons would appear in terrifying shapes, and howl, and go forth and stir up storms in the bay and bring about shipwrecks. Hence the bad reputation with the ancient writers of the Gulf of Squillace; but since the saint came floating to shore at the mouth of this cave these things have happened no more.³² In summer time many of the inhabitants take their beds down and sleep in the cave, and it is now called the *Grotta di San Gregorio Taumaturgo*, though of late it has become the practice also to refer to it as the *Grotta del Palombaro*, because of the wild pigeons.

All this proves, says Romano, that it must have been San Gregorio Taumaturgo, for what other saint could have given the demons such short shrift? He then discloses the current ideas as to the subsequent history of this countryside. The main fact related is that 'Niceforo,' Emperor of Constantinople, had in the year 800 destroyed Magna Graecia. Romano thinks that the church of Roccella is all that is left of the city of Petalia, which Niceforo destroyed, and that the homeless inhabitants had been the founders of Catanzaro. He thinks that Columna or Stiliti stood on the base of the Capo di Stalletti, and that Niceforo destroyed it. His army, says Romano, consisted of Agereni, Cretesi and Ateniesi, whom he is quite clear were all enemies of the Faith. But though they destroyed Columna, they could not destroy the church where San Gregorio lay. It

³² Giulio Giannelli, *Culti e Miti della Magna Grecia* (1924), p. 202, argues that Athena of 'Scillezio' was worshipped here as a patroness against shipwreck, in pre-Roman days. In Roman times it was Scyllaceum Minervaeum. It is likely enough that Vulcan was associated in this patronate against shipwreck, and the Thaumaturge seems thus to succeed to it.

is still standing. Annually on the third day after Easter the people of Stalletti celebrate the *festa della gran' madre di Dio* there. So they call it Santa Maria del Mare, as it is quite near the sea. And we can identify it with Terracina's S. Maria de Veteri Squilacio.

Then he supposes that the church of San Gregorio in the village of Stalletti, which we know must have been built at any rate very little before 1500, was built to receive the relics of the saint in the year 800. He is aware that other opinions are held as to the date of this church: some say 1076 and some 1126 and some 950. But these dates are all based upon the idea that the migration took place on one of the occasions on which Magna Graecia has been ravaged by its enemies, and such occasions have been frequent. Assuming the general correctness of the idea, Romano follows Vincenzo d'Amato, whose *Memorie della Città di Catanzaro*, just printed, dates the rebuilding of the town by the Greek fugitives as in 800 A.D. Romano's argument as to the interpretation of the Studite's sermon has been reconsidered by other writers since, and particularly by Minasi in his *Cassiodoro*. It cannot, however, be treated as seriously tenable. It rests upon the coincidence that Theodore gives us an Acacius and a Gregory who both come to Calabria, the one to Ascalis and the other to Columna. The equation of Columna with Stalletti is too forced to be credible, and while the reading Ascalis is the nearest of two or three variants to Scylacium, it is impossible to equate these two forms. Theodore no doubt knew of places in Italy and Sicily where relics of saints known and honoured in the East were venerated as they could not be venerated in the Iconoclastic empire. But there is no real reason to think that the Gregory and Acacius whom he has in mind are those in the minds of the later Calabrian writers. The cathedral of Squillace venerates St. Acacius of Constantinople. But the Studite can never have thought that his body reposed in any other place but the capital. There was an Acacius of Melitene, of whom he may be thinking. And as he does not call his St. Gregory by the title of Thaumaturgus, he may well have been thinking of the Illuminator. The Illuminator was venerated at Reggio from a very early date, and the Studite's

Columna is very likely the Columna Reginensium of the classical geographers. Theodore had before him, perhaps, some form of the legend of the translation of the body of the apostle to the island of Lipari, as Gregory of Tours tells it. He was in good touch with Western church affairs through correspondents such as Basil, fifth abbot of St. Saba at Rome. The theme he had set himself was that where relics are honoured, βασιλεὺς ἀγαθοεργίαν ἐν ὀρθοδοξίᾳ κατὰ βαρβάρων ὀπλίζονται. For the rest, it wanted but the knowledge of cultus of Far-eastern saints at places in the West to amplify the theme by giving St. Bartholomew companions.

Able as we are now to put on one side the whole fabrication supporting a translation of the relics of the Thaumaturge to Stalletti, we can find an explanation for the naming of the cave of the fish-pond in the reestablishment of Cassiodore's monastery by Byzantine monks, under patronage of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. But in the interval between Cassiodore and the monastic restoration the associations of paganism had re-established themselves with regard to the cave, and were only exorcized with a struggle, when the monks took possession again. They died so hard, in fact, that when a church of San Gregorio came to be situate in the village a mile away, a doublet-legend formed, of the eviction of demons from a haunted tree, with the added detail of the passage from the back of the cave to the church *piazza*, to make sure that the same evil powers are still being overcome by the saint as of old. And this development is completely independent of the Studite, or of any but purely local influences.

The probability has been noted that while Romano was finishing and publishing his *Vita di San Gregorio*, he was living at Reggio. His zeal for the cultus of the saint was clearly great enough to survive transplantation, which rather offered opportunity to spread it. Under the circumstances, the discovery of a veneration of the Thaumaturge at Reggio that goes back just to his days makes it reasonable to suspect a Stalletti connection, in which he personally may have played the leading part; though the last is not certain.

The parish of San Gregorio Taumaturgo forms part of the

north suburbs of Reggio, and became such in 1750 by being severed from the parish of S. Maria dell' Itria.³³ But there had existed before that date *una chiesetta dedicata a San Gregorio Taumaturgo* which was used by the peasantry as a chapel-of-ease until Archbishop Polou, on their petition, made it into a parish church. The mother-parish of S. Maria dell' Itria had only been constituted in 1631, because all the low-lying land to the north of the city had been regarded as uninhabitable on account of the Turks until the early years of the seventeenth century. The chapel of the Thaumaturge can hardly have been built, therefore, until the forties. Now the reputation of the saint for exercising a marvellous control over Turks is testified by D'Amato at Catanzaro in 1670. And his fame as the saint of Stalletti had reached Reggio by the same date.³⁴ For in 1673 Paolo Baglione published at Venice a poem by the Carmelite poet of Reggio, Ignazio Cumbo, entitled *La Maddalena Liberata*. The sixteenth canto of this poem describes how the Magdalen voyaged to the West, and tells how the ship sailed by the coast of Calabria. There she saw 'La grandezza e il valor di Palepoli'; and so follows on the legend of the founding of Catanzaro, as D'Amato tells it. And then the view changes, and she sees

Squillace, donde il golfo Scillaceo
 Su l'eccelsa fondato alta riviera
 Prima apprese il saper dal saggio Alteo.
 Poi dal forte Roman l'arte guerriera;
 Dove aperse monastico liceo
 Poscia Cassiodoro à sacra schiera,
 Dove il conte Ruggier tenne la reggia
 Col Taumaturgo, Agazio hor vi lampeggia.

About such a time as 1670, possibly somewhat earlier or somewhat later, the bold folk who first resettled the Turk-harried land of the parish of San Gregorio Taumaturgo may very naturally have chosen this patronage because of what they heard from Stalletti. The Dominican convent church at Reggio, given to the friars by Archbishop Gaspar del Fosso, in 1572, was dedicated to San Gregorio Armeno, locally known as Il

³³ R. Cotroneo, in *Rivista Storica Calabrese* (1902), pp. 57 and 244-245.

³⁴ For what follows see the Cronachetta, in Spanò Bolani, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 140, 265. An account of Cumbo is given on pp. 198-208. He died in 1686.

Piccolo. The people of Reggio may have thought the Thaumaturge to be the same saint.

But of any interest in St. Gregory Thaumaturgus at Reggio before the middle seventeenth century there is no trace, either in the numerous hagiographical writers, or in church-dedications or lists of relics. Mgr. Holweck finds the Thaumaturge to be a minor patron of both Reggio and Messina against earthquake. Now the earthquake of 1783, when Stalletti escaped, set up a new enthusiasm for the Thaumaturge as a Protector in earthquake. This is therefore the most likely time for the institution of this patronage. As we have seen, the way was ready at Reggio, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that it should pass over the water to Messina. It is in vain, however, that the traveller seeks today for any trace of the memory of San Gregorio in either town. A fruitless search brought the present writer to the shop in Messina where they sell *oggetti pii*. And the Sister in charge could only say apologetically, 'San Gregorio non è Santo popolare.' That no doubt accurately represents the facts today. Both towns have been recently destroyed once more by earthquake and risen anew. And they belong no more to the old local life of Sicily-Calabria. A modern sea-side town and an up-to-date commercial port, they have drawn together new populations from afar, while but few of their historic landmarks remain to form a point of attachment for the survival of traditions. The church life that is going on in them today belongs to a modern and Roman Catholicism very little 'localized.' And so it is the cultus of the St. Thérèse of Lisieux and the other fashionable cult-interests of cosmopolitan Catholicism which are evident in the present-day churches.

We must go back into the nineteenth century to catch the atmosphere of the local saint-cultus as it was on the threshold of the modern age. An excellent account of popular tradition, as it was in 1845, is given by the writer of the section devoted to 'Chiesa di Squillace' in the Neapolitan *Enciclopedia dell'Ecclesiastico*.³⁵ It is worth translation at length.

"Such sensible favours has Stalletti received from her tute-

³⁵ The *Enciclopedia* is founded on Richard and Giraud, but adds a fourth volume of Italian diocesan histories by local writers. This passage is on p. 1016 of this volume.

lary saint, that she turns to him in every need, and is infallibly answered. Preservation has been obtained many a time in natural calamities, in the epidemics and pestilences that have ravaged the Calabrian land, and still more from the Greek pirates and African corsairs of the Ionian sea. The most marvellous thing is that if they need rain, they have only to invoke St. Gregory's name, to see the sky covered forthwith with clouds. And then down comes a beneficent rain, and refreshes the parched country. So true is this that the pleasant saying is proverbial 'Se il Greco non mostra la faccia, non è possibile che scenda la pioggia.' The present bishop, Monsignor Pasquini, labours with every means at his disposal to restore a church for the Thaumaturge of Neocaesarea, and to establish an annual feast in his honour." The bishop succeeded by dint of handing the church over to the Minorites. And Mgr. D. Taccone-Gallucci, bishop of Nicotera, reported in 1903 that the body of the saint was still to be found there.³⁶ The people of Squillace, it appears, claim exactly the same things for their Sant' Agazio that the folk of Stalletti do for San Gregorio.

We see, then, that for the people of the countryside, San Gregorio and Sant' Agazio have each become the tutelary numen, the representative of beneficent Providence, for his own place. There is a danger of there being no distinct legendary personality for either. For the church, one is the bishop of Neocaesarea and the other the centurion martyr. It is not so for the people. So far as the saints belong to them, it is in virtue of a character which is related to local facts of the present time, and not to a distant history, however industriously the latter is taught and depicted in church. San Gregorio, at any rate, had a character in the eyes of the local people. A stranger by origin ('il Greco'), he came in the name of a beneficent Faith, and drove out an older pagan regime, marked by fear. He took away the ugly name of the gulf and headland, and made the sea safe for the fishing boats. He shared with his *clientèle* the trouble from heathen pirates, and kept at bay, also, pestilence and earthquake. He is a rain-giver, to whom the little valley owes its fertility.

³⁶ In *Rivista Storica Calabrese* (1903), p. 428.

In this way the Calabrian peasantry has reached identically the same kind of conception of St. Gregory, as a beneficent successor to the old Nature-gods of the land, that the Pontic peasantry reached before them. The peasant-mind, in short, follows its own lines in the appropriation of religious ideas. It is better, perhaps, at getting hold of the spirit than the form. It is incapable of assimilating anything extraneous to its own limited field of interests. Hence the complete absence of any impression made by the ecclesiastical legend of our saint on the Calabrian peasant conception of him. Hence, equally, the entire masking of the historical personality of the bishop of Neocaesarea in the Pontic folk-tales. To the peasant, again, the priest has a 'job' of his own, which is his affair. We see Bishop della Cornia and Bishop Pasquini straining to ensure the liturgical decencies for the Thaumaturge, and gaining the restoration of his chapel only through outside help. Ecclesiastical 'observance' has to be worked up, with an expenditure of clerical time and energy. And yet, all the while, as 'il Greco,' the saint is an abiding reality to the peasantry. He does not, for them, live in a temple made with hands, but broods over their countryside. The priests have their special rights in him — that is understood. Acceptably they read and preach their legend of him and honour him with liturgical observance. But the peasant has his own legend and his own observances, that belong to the world within the visible horizon. Since the date of publication of the *Enciclopedia dell' Ecclesiastico*, earthquake has done much to destroy further the old life of the country, and the inrush of modernity has done more. But at Stalletti the earthquake was rather favourable than otherwise to the cultus of the Thaumaturge. The terrible disaster of February 5, 1783, which made that date an anniversary for observance as a day of requiems throughout Calabria, passed by Stalletti and Squillace almost entirely. The glories of the Thaumaturge shone out the more by contrast. And the special use of the diocese of Squillace commands the observance of February 5, on an equality with November 17, as an annual festival of San Gregorio.³⁷

³⁷ Lenormant, *op. cit.*, III, p. 369, and Holweck, *l.c.*

VI. DISTRIBUTION OF RELICS

Stalletti is not the only place which today claims to have some portion of the mortal remains of the Thaumaturge. The church of São Roque at Lisbon claims to possess his head and another relic, while St. Peter's at Rome and S. Ignazio in the same city both have small relics. Certainty seems impossible as to the relation of these four dispersed relics with the tomb at Stalletti, but there is considerable probability that they may all actually have been borne from thence.

It is with regard to the Lisbon relics that we have most information.¹ They were brought to that city and to the church where they still are under conditions of great publicity during the time that the Invincible Armada was being equipped on the Tagus. The donor of them was Don Juan de Borgia, then a member of Philip II's court, and a leading layman in the Counter-reformation movement. In the words of P. Balthazar Tellez 'he indulged in a sacred merchandise of relics' all his life.² In this he had had exceptional opportunities. He had been sent to the court of Emperor Rudolph II, on business for the King of Spain. And this led to his appointment, in 1576, as major-domo to the Empress-mother Maria. 'Germany,' Tellez says, 'is fertile of relics,' and Don Juan had five years at the imperial court.

Then again, Don Juan's business had carried him to Rome and to other notable centres of Christendom. And wherever he went, he took the opportunities that occurred, for adding to his collection of sacred relics. Don Juan came home to Madrid in 1581. Thanks to his own zeal, and the generosity of the Emperor and the Empress-mother, his collection of holy relics was a treasure of national importance.³ His first thought was to lodge it at the Escorial. But considerations both personal and political led to the selection of the great new Jesuit church of São Roque at Lisbon, for its reception. This church was architecturally a crowning glory of the city, a monument of royal

¹ See W. Telfer, *Treasure of São Roque* (1932), for the full story.

² *Chronica da Companhia de Jesu da Provincia de Portugal* (1648), Part II, p. 118.

³ Antonio Franco, *Synopsis Annalium S. J. in Lusitania, 1540-1725* (1726), p. 146.

favour towards St. Francis Borgia, and in some sense a principal church of the Society of which he had been General.

Other reasons were present to confirm the choice. The Armada was in preparation at Lisbon. Philip II of Spain was ruling Portugal through the Infante Cardinal Albert. And every atom of force available from the religious zeal, or fanaticism, of the Spanish people was being turned to account for the carrying through of this piece of foreign aggressive policy. At such a juncture, the solemn entry of a mighty host of saints into Lisbon was most opportune. And no pains were spared to ensure that the moral effect should be as great as possible. The Counter-reformation had resulted, in Spain, in the rise of a popular assurance that the nation was elect of God. Anything that could be interpreted as a sign of the favour of heaven fanned enthusiasm.

At the same time Philip was draining all material resources. The victory of Lepanto (1571) enabled a great transfer of Aragonese troops from Naples to Lisbon at this time. And the King was in anxiety to keep the *morale* of the expedition as high as its cost. Don Juan's reliquaries set out, therefore, from Madrid, and reached Lisbon on October 12, 1587. They were received by P. Pedro Fonseca, rector of the Jesuit college, and removed to temporary lodgings in the cathedral. A delay ensued, to allow Archbishop Miguele de Castro to examine the great mass of documents of authentication, by which the relics were accompanied. Further delay was caused by the inclemency of the weather. But as soon as this mended, preparations went forward for the magnificent procession, through decorated streets and under triumphal arches, of the twelve state cars bearing the relics. As each car in turn unloaded its sacred burden, Latin verses were declaimed in honour of the saints there represented. So unexampled an occasion was it that full accounts were published in book form, first by Manuele Campos, in Portuguese, and later in a Spanish translation, by Alvarez de Veanchos. And in this way we know the order of the relics and the verses recited in their honour.

The tenth car carried a silver reliquary with relics of 34 saints, of whom St. Gregory Thaumaturgus was one. But the

eleventh car had the more important relic, the saint's head. The reliquary was shaped in the familiar form of a silver bust of a bishop in jewelled mitre. The trunk of the bust contained the relic. *In corporis visceribus caput sacrum S. Gregorii Thaumaturgi Neocaesariensis in Ponto Antistitis*. This relic called forth from the poet of the occasion verses *Ad D. Gregorii Caput* printed by De Salazar, but not worth repetition, either for their literary quality, or for any least scrap of knowledge of the saint or of the provenance of the relic.

So St. Gregory's head was housed in São Roque. But, the occasion over, it was not to fall back into oblivion. Pope Sixtus V allowed a perpetual Jubilee to the church of São Roque on November 17. And Tellez, writing in 1648 an account of the church, singles out this relic from the whole collection. No matter that he calls it the head of the great St. Gregory Nazianzen! He puts that right by the assurance that it works miracles in Lisbon today, as it did of old in Neocaesarea. The saint though dead protects the city. He is thinking of earthquake. It is a curious fact that São Roque came unharmed through the disastrous earthquakes in 1575 and 1755, and so remains to this day.

The deeds of authentication examined by the archbishop of Lisbon still exist in the muniment room of the Casa de Misericórdia at Lisbon, and it appears from these that the head was among a collection of relics previously owned by the Empress-mother Maria. The deed, however, gives no indication whence she had obtained it. It is dated 1587.⁴

The small relic is one of those which Borgia had brought with him from Austria.⁵ It appears that on at least one other occasion when the Empress-mother received the gift of a relic, a small relic of the same saint had been presented to her majordomo, Don Juan de Borgia, at the same time.⁶ Such may have been the case with regard to the two relics of the Thaumaturge which came to Lisbon. They may represent one diplomatic gesture on the part of an ecclesiastic or Catholic statesman

⁴ Telfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136, for the text of the deed.

⁵ Telfer, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

⁶ The relics from Torcello of St. Barbara (*op. cit.*, pp. 135-138).

engaged in relations with the imperial court. There was plentiful business between Rome and Prague during the decade 1570–1580.

If we look for personages involved in such relations and having some connection with Stalletti, there is some choice. First stands Guglielmo Sirleto, Papal Librarian, Protector of the German College at Rome and Reformer of the Basilian Order.⁷ He came of a Calabrian family,⁸ and while his tenure of the see of Squillace between 1568 and 1573 was nominal, it was his nephew Marcello Sirleto who administered for him, and succeeded him as diocesan, 1573–1593, to be followed in turn by his brother Tommaso, 1594–1601. He is indicated alike by opportunities and interests as a possible donor of relics of the Thaumaturge. There is an obvious likelihood that he came into such relations with the imperial court as might lead to a donation of relics. In his funeral sermon, which was preached by Padre J. Vaz Motta of Lisbon, the preacher apostrophizes Germany in particular: “O misera Germania! Miserae nationes reliquae!”⁹ There may be allusion to a more than nominal care for the interests of the church in the Empire in those words. But the fact is that work on the biography of this important churchman must await the assembling of the materials. And it is useless to proceed further with mere conjecture.

But Sirleto was far from being the only link between the little towns of Squillace and Stalletti and the great world of Rome. The chief landlord of that countryside was a Borgia, and cousin to Don Juan. The principate of Squillace had come to the family by the marriage of Goffredo Borgia, third son of Alexander VI, to Sancia, natural daughter of King Ferdinand II of Aragon, and the family continued resident at Squillace till the early seventeenth century.¹⁰ The Aragonese Kingdom of the Sicilies itself involved Calabria in manifold connections with Spain. For twenty-eight years Spanish bishops ruled in

⁷ A. Ciacone, *Vitae Pontificum Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalium* (1677), III, p. 975.

⁸ From Guardavalle; *Feudale*, op. cit., *sub anno* 1568.

⁹ This *Funebris oratio* was printed in 1585, and there is a copy in the Acton collection at Cambridge.

¹⁰ Cesare d'Engenio, *Descrittione del Regno di Napoli* (1671).

Squillace at the same time that they were maintaining close relations with St. Francis Borgia and the Spanish Jesuits.¹¹ In the very year of Terracina's *Santa Visita* Don Juan de Borgia is found transacting business for the bishop of Squillace.¹² Then again the Jesuits themselves may have been the agents in such a transaction as concerns us. It lay very much along the line of their interests. The Society arrived at Naples in 1548 and four years later was called to assist in the revival of religious life in Calabria, as well as to combat an outbreak of heresy in the province.¹³ This mission was under the leadership of Father Bobadilla, who in 1564 established a Jesuit college no further from Stalletti than Catanzaro.¹⁴

Now from about this period there ceased to be any Basilian abbot, even of the Latin rite by ordination, resident in charge of the poor little chapel where the reputed body of the Thaumaturge lay. Romano's reproaches and Bari's blunder would lead one to suppose that the people had not yet become fully awake to its value as sacred treasure. And it was kept above ground, simply locked up in a wooden chest. If any of these influential people had the desire to remove relics, there was no substantial obstacle in the way. Father Bobadilla is certainly to be accounted as one such person. The young Prince Pedro Borgia,¹⁵ possibly still a minor, was in possession of the principate at this time. It was with him that Father Bobadilla stayed when preparing to found the college at Catanzaro, and in a letter from the Borgia mansion to Padre Salmeron, he says that correspondence was going on between the Borgias of Squillace and St. Francis Borgia, who became General in 1566.¹⁶

¹¹ Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Lainii Monumenta, III (1913), pp. 61 and 95, V (1915), pp. 230 ff. and 394.

¹² Mon. Hist. Soc. Jesu, S. Franciscus Borgia, I (1894), p. 629.

¹³ The Sirletos were close friends of the Jesuits: Mon. Hist. Soc. Jesu, Salmeron, II (1907), pp. 424, 428. For their commission from Cardinal Sforza to combat heresy, see F. Schinosi, *Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù appartenente al regno di Napoli* (1706), p. 49.

¹⁴ Schinosi, op. cit., p. 168. Bobadilla was working from Catanzaro from 1552.

¹⁵ He was the fourth prince. See the notes to the Will of St. Francis Borgia in Mon. Hist. Soc. Jesu, S. Franciscus Borgia, I, p. 772.

¹⁶ Mon. Hist. Soc. Jesu, Bobadillae Monumenta (1913), p. 408, letter of May 27, 1562; p. 412, later in the same year, P. F. Petrarca informs Bobadilla of a letter of St. Francis to Don Antonio Borgia.

Shortly afterwards we find Bobadilla returning to Squillace for the wedding of Prince Pedro to Isabella, daughter of the Duke of Monteleone.¹⁷ Other letters of Bobadilla from Squillace survive, and in 1583 he is reported as lying sick at the Prince of Squillace's house in a letter written by Philip Emanuel, half-brother of St. Francis, and then Governor of Messina.¹⁸ He died in 1590.¹⁹ We thus see at least three sets of people who might well have both the power and the will to remove a relic from the chest in the little and neglected church at Stalletti, and the mind to appreciate relics so taken as of high and sacred value.

It has been already noted that the cultus of the Thaumaturge by the Eastern orthodox church in Constantinople had disappeared after the fall of the city, as it had from Niksar from the time of its capture. No reason can therefore be given for supposing that Eastern orthodox negotiants either with the Vatican or the Imperial court should have produced relics of this particular saint,²⁰ and there is certainly no reason for expecting such relics to appear from any other Western source: and it may therefore be regarded as a major probability that the two relics which eventually reached Lisbon passed by Rome on their journey from Stalletti.

Of the relics at Rome less can be said. A bone of the saint is enumerated as the sixteenth item in the list read out by the chanter at St. Peter's during the Easter Day Ostension of relics.²¹ But there seem to be no documents indicating whence it came, although the sixteenth century may be regarded as a probable time in view of the formation of these collections in their reliquaries.

There is a bone in a reliquary at the church of Sant' Ignazio,²² the church of the Jesuits begun by Cardinal Lodovico Ludovisi

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 452. Marafioti, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-144, eulogizes Prince Pedro as a helper of ecclesiastical causes.

¹⁸ Bobadilla Monumenta, pp. 516 and note 2 on p. 556.

¹⁹ Schinosi, *op. cit.*, II, p. 126.

²⁰ Telfer, *op. cit.*, p. 138 needs qualification, as regards the likelihood of an Oriental source.

²¹ Barbier de Montault, *L'Année Liturgique à Rome* (1870), p. 95.

²² B. de Montault, *op. cit.*, p. 168 (Ostension of the relic on November 17).

in 1626 and completed in 1663. The *Rettore* of St. Ignazio says that belonging to the first altar on the left as one enters the church and dedicated to St. Gregory the Great and St. Gregory Thaumaturgus are relics of these saints with their *autenticàs*. (But that for the Thaumaturge does not say whence it came; the *Rettore* supposes it to have been given in the sixteenth century when the altar was erected.)²³ Here again the personal connections with Calabria are plentiful, whether through those who built or through those placed in charge of this church.

Cardinal Nicolo Ludovisi was cousin to Cardinal Lodovico, and a close friend of the brothers Pallavicino. Again, we may assert a major probability that the relic derived from Stalletti. The relic in St. Peter's may also have come from a Ludovisi or a Sirleto.²⁴

The anonymous *Le Cose Maravigliose dell' alma Città di Roma*, published in 1587, in an extensive list of relics, mentions none of the Thaumaturge. Neither do they appear in well-known early lists. The fact that Voss does not refer to the relics of the saint, either in his dedication or in his notes on the Panegyric, must be held to tell against the presence of relics in Rome before 1604. On the other hand, the keen interest at Rome in our saint evinced by Baronius, Pallavicino and Ludovisi would make it a probable thing that steps would be taken, in the seventeenth century, to obtain relics, if it was known where to find them. It clearly was known where to find them, at least from the time of Bishop della Cornia (1635).

Besides these relics,²⁵ there exists to this day in the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli a Confraternity of San Gregorio

²³ Letter of July 7, 1933. The Roman edition of Patrignani's *Vita di San Gregorio* says that its contents are broken up 'in dicesette mercoledi che si fano all' altare del Santo nella Chiesa di S. Ignazio.' There was therefore an active Jesuit appropriation of the cultus.

²⁴ Rome in the early 17th century was wide awake to the possibilities of Calabria. Bishop Fabricio Sirleto of Squillace, 1603-1636, sent many Greek codices to Rome.

²⁵ B. de Montault calls for correction in assigning a relic of the Thaumaturge to S. Maria in Campitelli. The Parroco says (letter of July 10, 1933) that the relic is of Nazianzen. Also in assigning an altar in San Marco to the Thaumaturge. This is due to confusion with the Blessed Gregorio Barbarigo (letter of Sig. Hernanin of July 12, 1933).

Taumaturgo.²⁶ The present *Rettore*, who belongs to the company of French priests of the Sacré Coeur who were allotted this church in 1915, states that the *Archiconfraternità* was granted the use of this church in 1856 by Pio IX. They had previously used Santa Chiara, which had however become ruinous. Beyond that, the history of the Confraternity seems not to be known. But it meets for special devotions at an altar dedicated to San Gregorio at mass on Wednesdays.²⁷ We seem to see here the practice originated by the Theatines at Naples, of a Wednesday observance for seventeen weeks preceding November 17. The church of Santa Chiara was built in 1563 by Pio IV and placed in the hands of the Clarissas, and it is at least possible, therefore, that this Confraternity goes back far enough to have been originated by the devotional movement started among the Theatines.

In short, the distribution of relics appears to shew that the local cultus at Stalletti was caught up in the movement of revived enthusiasm for the cultus of relics, incidental to the Renaissance and Counter-reformation, and carried abroad, by means of gifts of relics, to take local root in new centres, leaving these traces at Lisbon and Rome to the present time.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

We are now in a position to deal less tentatively with the question, To what purpose such a study? It was argued that since the cultus of saints and of relics is an element which is continually encountered by the historical student working in the field of the Christian period, anything that gives a better understanding of such cultus, its nature and significance, is useful. And now the foregoing chapters seem to have carried it beyond argument that the modern student is ill-advised to trust his instinct in such matters. The reason why they are so foreign to him is not that they are bound up with religious beliefs different from his own — for belief in the power of the saints in glory to assist the faithful upon earth can exist in mod-

²⁶ B. de Montault, op. cit., p. 324.

²⁷ Letter of July 21, 1933.

ern contexts — but that, being unconditioned by the comparatively unified idea of causality which prevails today, historic saint-cultus assumes an air of freakishness and irresponsibility when judged by modern standards. Modernity, in short, hampers us in dealing with this subject. The remedy is to seek to know from such facts as can be established how men have acted and been affected in their hagiological interests in the historic past.

The most marked feature of the cultus-history here presented is the part played by purely fortuitous circumstances and individual initiative. If we have been able to tell a continuous narrative, the continuity has been at times of the most precarious. It is clear that such a cult-interest does not maintain itself from age to age by virtue of any self-possessioned momentum. This fact has not always been appreciated. For example, when M. Lenormant came upon the traces of the cultus of the Thaumaturge at Stalletti, he took it for evidence of the tenacity of the Greek tradition on that coast. This conclusion, if not absolutely wrong, calls for drastic qualification. As far as regards the last four hundred years, the continuance of the memory of the Thaumaturge has had nothing to do with tenacity of the Greek tradition. In fact, the whole cultus, as far as it has here been ascertained, belonged to Latin and not Greek Christianity, bearing witness rather to the decay of Greek tradition than to its survival. It only testifies to the tenacity of the Greek tradition in so far as it is a surviving relic from Basilian monachism. We have, in short, in Lenormant's comment, a typical example of a piece of hagiological evidence misinterpreted at sight. And we may draw the moral that there is danger in assigning a meaning to isolated hagiological facts. Not until the whole story has been reconstructed is it safe to guess how much or how little underlies them.

If the first and most important result of this investigation is negative, some positive conclusions may be also reached. It has appeared, for example, that three sections in Christian society are to be discriminated as each making its characteristic contribution to the development of the cult-interest under investigation. One such section is what may be called 'the

masses.' It is a commonplace that the mind of the people never grasps or holds historical facts as such, but only elements of story infused with some sentiment. However popular the hero, only things about him that can be grasped by the least imaginative and discerning can be expected to live from generation to generation in popular tradition. The memory of even the most cardinal biographical facts will hardly survive his death.

But on the other hand the present history has given striking illustration of the power of the people to retain in memory certain simple associations connected with particular places. First in Pontus, then in Constantinople and finally in Calabria, for a matter of some seven centuries in each instance, a popular idea connected in some way with St. Gregory Thaumaturgus and directly associating him with a place has been seen maintaining itself without substantial change. In each case it has been an idea of the simplest and, intellectually, of the vaguest character, having but the slightest connection with the actual historical personage with whose name it was joined. The people seem, judging by their behaviour and their stories, to find in the saint simply a power for good, vaguely personal, but always approachable by means that are easy to anyone, connected with objects and places in which the *δύναμις* of the saint was believed specially to reside.

The considerations which we have now reached are of wide implication for the history of religion, and the facts in connection with the cultus under investigation upon which they are based are of a kind to be paralleled almost universally in popular saint-cultus. Any explanation that is attempted must be of correspondingly general bearing. It seems that belief in a universal Providence, as represented in Christ's teaching on the Fatherhood of God, is far too difficult of acceptance for those whose life is on the level of the crowd. It is possible of acceptance for individuals, however simple and untutored, who have passed through an experience of evangelical conversion, since it is a natural result of such conversion to establish a sentiment of trust, entering into every relation and experience of life. Now there have been 'evangelical revivals' provocative of crowd response. But the aberrations accompanying them,

and their aftermath of reaction, shew how far they were from being spontaneous and natural expressions of the popular mind. Again, belief in a universal Providence is possible, in a somewhat different way, to the educated orthodox, who adapt it to their philosophy of life by dint of interpretations and qualifications, or their philosophy of life to it in the pursuit of spiritual progress. But in either case, the belief is something to which individuals rise by attaining notions and sentiments of profounder depth and seriousness than those that propagate themselves through the instrumentality of folk-lore, legend and traditional custom.

On the other hand, while a peasantry or city proletariat as such cannot be expected to exhibit belief in one universal and fatherly Providence, it may be, and quite commonly is, quite ready to believe in the possibility of attaining the better and avoiding the worse by means of particular localized *sacra*. Hence the readiness with which, under a nominally Christian regime, saint-cultus has obtained favour among the common people, and been associated with the highest proportional practice of religion. Just how Christian it may have been is illustrated by the history of the Sweating Column in Hagia Sophia, wherein is exhibited the powerlessness even of such a confessional change as that from Christianity to Islam to alter the practice of the people with regard to the sacred object.

A second section of society to be distinguished for our purposes consists of the cultured and educated clergy. This class is susceptible to influences that make no impression at all upon the more popular elements in society. An instance is seen, in the cultus under investigation, in the part played by Nyssen's Panegyric. There can be no question that it was a most favourable circumstance, from the point of view of the cultus, that the Panegyric of the saint should have been composed by a rhetorician destined for high place among the Fathers of the church, and at a time when it occupied a somewhat unique place in Christian literature. And undoubtedly it was the Panegyric which, at different stages in the history, won the aid of high ecclesiastics in the stimulation of a more general interest in the Thaumaturge. In this particular cultus the literary excellence

and appeal of the Panegyric must be regarded as something of an individual feature. In other cases where it appears that fresh impulses have been received from time to time from the learned or from those in high authority, there will probably be likewise found some interest present, whether literary, patriotic or political, which is capable of influencing powerfully this upper class in Christian society. But in the majority of cultus-histories it is most likely that no corresponding feature will be found.

At one point and another in the history of the cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, the doctrinal and theological importance of the saint has been brought into account as one of the things affecting the part played by the upper ecclesiastical class. It ought, however, to be recognized that in general the two interests, doctrinal and hagiological, stand in no necessary connection. It is an obvious truth that the greatest doctors of the church are not likewise the saints of most popular or remarkable cultus. There is a kind of veneration which such people inspire in the educated, without immediate suggestion of thaumaturgy on their part. The case becomes different, however, when the theologians have been roused on the actual subject of the doctrine of the thaumaturgy of the saints, as has been exemplified in the case of Baronius and of the theologians who fought against Iconoclasm. Moreover, the doctrinal influence and importance in controversy of the Thaumaturge is so predominantly connected with the Revealed Creed, and its special claim to superhuman authority, that in his case it is legitimate to instance the predilection of theologians for our saint as having a bearing on hagiology. In general the part played by clerics in the stimulation of such a cult-interest as that with which we are concerned is quite different from the part played by the people. The better class of cleric has received a doctrinal education such as ensures that while he may have a positive dogma with regard to saint-cultus, no particular cult will be to him more than a subsidiary aspect of the Christian religion. Consequently the better and more honest clerical participant in a cult-interest is apt to be more concerned with the general prosperity of religion as he conceives it than with

the particular cult which is in question. It is unnecessary to doubt the sincerity of Bishop della Cornia in his advice to the people of Borgia. At the same time it is reasonable to suppose that the predominating sentiment in his mind in connection with his visit to Borgia and the subsequent inauguration of the patronage of San Gregorio was that the general cause of Christian religion in this village had been advanced, and the amenability of the people to the teaching and discipline of Holy Church increased. He would undoubtedly trust that the gratitude which the people might feel for those benefits which were believed to have been occasioned by the patronage of St. Gregory would not stop short at the saint, but would lead to the purer and loftier sentiment of gratitude to the Father of All. How far such a pious hope may have been justified is another matter.

Bishop della Cornia may be certainly supposed to have known that the Protestants accused such as himself of causing men to give to men the worship that was due only to God. Equally certainly he did not believe the Protestants to be right. And in general, one may assume that the better type of clergy which he represents used popular cult-interest such as that of San Gregorio as a means to the stimulation of Christian practice and hoped, through the living ministry and discipline of the church, to make it turn to the advancement of Christian morals and personal conversion.

The same phenomenon is before us in the devotions instituted by the Theatines at Naples and Palermo. A Protestant visitor might have objected to the uselessness, from an evangelical point of view, of stimulating professing Christians to the observance of the seventeen Wednesdays and the saying of the seventeen Paters, Aves and Glorias. But the Theatine reply, in effect, was that devotion to the Thaumaturge appealed to the educated Catholic people with whom they were concerned, with an appeal which stimulated them to a more general Christian churchly and religious devotion, and that the upshot, in the case of this cultus, was an increase in earnestness and regularity of living in the aggregate. It is unnecessary to pronounce upon the controversy. We are concerned only to note that the motive

which brought the higher clergy into the work of stimulating the cultus was largely ulterior to simple concern with the cultus as such. At the same time, the affair of Father Lembo, or the adventure of Cardinal Baronius in the conclave, shews that circumstances might bring highly educated and intellectual representatives of the clerical order into far more serious partizanship with regard to a particular cultus than that which we have just described. Undoubtedly, again, Father Romano had a real objective belief in miraculous possibilities within the natural physical world as a result of the zealous prosecution of this cultus. He was not concerned merely to ensure that the people of the village which possessed by a special right this heavenly patron should honour him fittingly and have recourse to him in their various needs. He was moved beside to do what in him lay to pass on the cultus-interest in the Thaumaturge beyond this one village until it was diffused throughout the province, expecting corresponding increase in supernatural favours.

We have yet to deal with a third section of society which had its characteristic contribution to make to the development of cultus. It is one that is very hard to locate. In a general way it is to be described as belonging to the lower ranks of the clergy, though many of its members may not have held any definable position in the religious community. But the nature of their activities may be described as purveying for the masses whatever in the religious way the masses were avid to obtain. In this class one does not find, as with the better clergy, signs of a desire to use the satisfaction of popular demands as a means of educating and uplifting the people. There is simply the recognition of an appetite to be satisfied, a knowledge of something that the public likes and desires; and after that it is simply a matter, with this class of clerical agent, of supplying the desideratum in such form as the public finds most congenial. In the field of saint-cultus this purveyor class has been responsible for a vast manufacture of spurious relics and fabrication of legend devoid of beauty or edification. But this does not seem to have taken place with regard to the cultus of the Thaumaturge. In his case, while it seems probable that no asserted relic can pos-

sibly be authentic, the invention of relics appears to have taken place entirely under circumstances of spontaneity and innocence. There are no signs of deliberate and unscrupulous clerical agency. In the case of this cultus the part played by the purveyor class seems to be represented solely by the St. Gregory exorcisms. And the so-called Christian public for which they purveyed would seem to have been really dominated by a superstitious lore of angels and demons. For whereas Christian orthodoxy teaches that a state of grace and the holy Sign render any Christian secure against any snare of the Evil One, these exorcisms are not so conceived. They imply the presence in those who use them of an instant fear of unseen evil powers lurking within and about the very homes of human beings. And people whose lives move upon this spiritual level are not comforted by exhortation to trust in an almighty invisible God. Comfort is more readily provided for them by an exorcism invoking the name of a mighty and assured *πνευματοδίδωξ*. To the questionably Christian character of this outlook corresponds the no less questionably Christian form of many of the exorcisms. Some of those that have been instanced as connected with the name of our saint bear evident marks of derivation from quite other than reputable ecclesiastical sources. The class of agent to whom such compositions are due cannot have been actuated by scruples. And it is a fact that amulets and spells for the quieting of superstitious fears are commonly found to be the object of quite mercenary transactions. In short, this purveyor class is, in the matter of exorcisms, seeking money from its public and is therefore intent to provide just that fare for which it will be most likely to pay.

Of these three classes in society whose characteristic action in the field of saint-cultus has been described, the most interesting and worthy of further study is the first. The part of the people in the formation or the maintenance of saint-cultus is much more difficult to define with assurance than that of either of the two clerical classes. And yet if we can have the skill to interpret the forms taken by the products of the popular interest in saint-cultus, we shall be able to throw light on broad and important facts in the social as well as the religious order.

We may therefore conclude with a brief exemplary attempt at such interpretation.

It has been noted that as much as two centuries may have passed after St. Gregory's death before men began to say that he lay entombed in the episcopal church of Neocaesarea. Yet in the middle of this interval, when Nyssen wrote his Panegyric, there was already in existence a whole cycle of stories current among the peasantry and connecting the Thaumaturge with this or that place or custom. It may be safely inferred, therefore, that the cultus-interest with which we are concerned had not its singular root in the church of his episcopal city, or as the work of its clergy, but had an independent and perhaps an earlier genesis among the country people. Nyssen records that the Thaumaturge as he travelled about his diocese took care to wean the rustics from their attachment to the local pagan anniversaries and their heathen associations, by replacing them with commemorations of Pontic martyrs.¹ The peasantry, it seems, requited him by investing him with some of the attributes of their ancient *numina*.

At the same time, his memory was matter for growing veneration by the church of the city. And we may fix upon the Christian landed gentry as the agency by which the two movements were linked up and made to reinforce each other. In the persons of Basil and Gregory Nyssen, members of this class, we see the rustic traditions brought to bear to work up the cultus-interest now developing in the towns. As the final result of such efforts there grew up an ecclesiastical and standardized cultus, which perpetuated itself when the oral traditions of the peasantry had long passed into oblivion.

But not all the anecdotes in the Panegyric can have belonged to the rustic story-cycle. Of some it may be suspected that they had had no previous connection with the Thaumaturge, only they appealed to Nyssen as intrinsically suited to his theme. One or two bear the stamp of local ecclesiastical tradition and are likely to be fairly trustworthy historically. One little anecdote about an exorcism at a country fair² may well

¹ M.P.G. 46, 953.

² M.P.G. 46, 941 D.

be based upon the account of an eye-witness. But the remainder belong to the folk-lore class, and these invite the conclusion that the state of culture of the Pontic dalesmen at the time of their conversion to a nominal Christianity was barely emerging from the animistic stage.

One illustration will suffice; it is the story of a great rock which jumped from one place to another at a word from the saint.³ The early hagiological commentators saw in this a practical demonstration of the truth of Matthew xxi. 21. But, to the student of folk-lore, stories of rocks that have jumped or flown or been otherwise marvellously transported from one place to another are a mere commonplace. In the eyes of a people at the animistic stage of cultural development every great rock has its spirit, and no object of nature, whether mountain, river, tree or spring is regarded as inanimate. That is to say, according to the ideas of such folk, any great rock could jump if it liked. But when the story begins to take the form, not that the rock jumped, but that some superior power caused the rock to jump, the purely animistic stage is passing, and the belief in *numina* begins to take its place.

In some of these folk-lore stories, as that which tells how the Thaumaturge planted his staff in the bank of the Lycus⁴ and so prevented the river from overflowing its banks, or that of the drying up of a lake by prayer,⁵ Nyssen seems to have particular places in view as the scenes of the action. This is not the case with regard to the story of the rock that jumped. But in this instance the miracle is made to prove the truth of the Christian as against a pagan creed, marking the story as agnostic. Now great isolated boulder rocks are not uncommon in Pontus, and it is probable that all of them were regarded as numinous.⁶ They would therefore form battlegrounds for Christianity. And Nyssen's story looks as if it were a general

³ M.P.G. 46, 917 B, C.

⁴ M.P.G. 46, 932 B.

⁵ M.P.G. 46, 929.

⁶ So P. de Tchihatcheff, *Description Physique de l'Asie Mineure* (1867), I, p. 667; II, p. 104. J. G. Skene, *Anadol* (1858), pp. 120, 157. J. G. Taylor, in the *Royal Geographical Society Journal*, XXXVIII, p. 297. W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor* (1842), p. 326.

legend covering this class of encounter. And the interpretation of it should be that Christianity had been victorious only in seeming, by imposing a new legend but being forced on those terms to countenance the continuance of the old essential belief.

One of the rocks in which this story has been localized is a huge isolated boulder standing in the open plain of the Iris river not far from Tokat, and adjoining the modern village of Gumenek, which succeeds to Comana Pontica.⁷ This rock contains ancient tomb-chambers whose sides are now out of the vertical. Either earthquake or subsidence of the soil might explain this tilt, undergone by the rock at some time subsequent to the carving of the chambers. The rock therefore has a particularly odd and striking aspect that was bound to give rise to an aetiological legend, the form of which was sure to be that the rock under some circumstances had flown, jumped or been hurled thither. The most prevalent Christian legend connects it with St. Chrysostom, who died at Comana. Accordingly, he is said to have preached from the upper tomb-chamber. But according to another story he caused the rock to move from the bed of the Iris. And this may be judged a doublet of the story in the Panegyric, localized in this rock, as it certainly is. Nevertheless, association with two Christian saints has not been able to rid the rock of its sub-Christian associations. As late as the end of the nineteenth century, upon St. Chrysostom's Day, November 13, there continued to be a popular assembly at the rock, during which a cock was sacrificed, and diseases were 'tied' to the surrounding bushes. The Greek clergy of Tokat were clearly aware of the pagan origin and character of these rites, and after a struggle succeeded in suppressing this gather-

⁷ It is described in the *Travels of Macarius* (II, p. 440), where it is mentioned that both the Thaumaturge and St. Chrysostom are reputed to have transported the rock. The author says, mysteriously, 'at the top is an image of this miraculous saint (Gregory) as is mentioned in his history, and known by all to the present time.' Later travellers mostly report the Chrysostom legend; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 350; James Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor* (1812), pp. 340-343; Van Lennep, *op. cit.*, I, p. 323; Sir William Ouseley, *Travels* (1823), p. 468; J. Tavernier, *Travels* (1679, original French), p. 6 of the English translation; Gustav Hirschfeld, in the *Berlin Academy Sitzungsberichte*, 1888, p. 891; *Studia Pontica*, I, p. 253; Cuinet, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

ing. But the Armenian community, which had a rival gathering with the same rites, at the same time, and in connection with the reputed tomb of St. Chrysostom in the neighbouring Armenian monastery of Bizery, continued to hold it.⁸ The cock was sacred to the Pontic god Mên.⁹ We can hardly reach any other conclusion than that the Thaumaturge and St. Chrysostom are the successors to Mên in a popular cult of the rock that is much older than Christianity. The unlocalized form of the story as it appears in the Panegyric suggests the possibility that the Thaumaturge became the successor to Mên in connection with such isolated boulders, generically.

It is remarkable that as Nyssen tells the story the rock actively obeys the saint: it is in fact so clearly before his mind that it leads him to the conceit that a stone converted hearts of stone from the worship of stones.¹⁰ And this points to the probability that in his folk-lore source the rock was the subject and not the object of the moving; so that once more the mark of the animistic stage is to be discerned. In short we have traced what may be called the tap-root of the cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus to an animistic peasantry.

The observances connected with the Sweating Column at Hagia Sophia bring before us, not a peasantry, but the populace of a great city. This is just as suggestible as the other, only subject to so many impacts of suggestion as to make it as good as impossible to distinguish the source of any. No doubt, in the case of the Sweating Column there was an originating cause of the subsequent popular belief, in the form of somebody's dream or vision, and the excitement over a faith-healing. But the originating cause had no permanent significance for the people. The tradition that endured consisted simply in the dogmatic association of the column with help in sickness. Ecclesiastical authority might try to clothe this inarticulate sentiment with proper articulation by maintaining liturgical observance. But the only impression made upon the people was that of an

⁸ Henry Carnoy and Jean Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure* (1889), pp. 196-197.

⁹ Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 34.

¹⁰ M.P.G. 46, 917 D.

official sanction and encouragement of the popular practices. The interest of the people was not transferred from the column to the relics, or to any other manifestation of the saint by whose name the column was called. Questions no doubt were asked; and as long as Hagia Sophia remained Christian, the official answer, substantially given by Antony of Novgorod, no doubt prevailed. Upon the change of religion, there was no longer an official answer. And when the people are left to themselves for explanations, their answers are quite irresponsible and vary with the ideas that chance to enter their heads. Even the form of benefit to be derived from the column varies in Moslem accounts, wish-fulfilment being the only common-denominator. These considerations point to the fact that in the case of a cultus-tradition by a city populace it is not the legend that matters so much as the visible actions associated with the cultus; because these actions are being continuously performed in public view, and it needs but the vaguest affirmation of good to ensue, for their perpetuation to be assured. In the country it is quite different. There the legend is indispensable, for it has to keep the tradition alive among a sparsely scattered peasantry, carry them to the place, and keep them schooled in the practice, which may be appropriate only to the occasion of these anniversaries.

The Calabrian chapter of our history exemplifies an intermediate situation, half rustic and half urban. The peculiar feature of the folk-lore element in this case is its optimistic tenor, asserting that bad old times have been done with. The Gulf of Squillace was a terror to seamen till the saint came, and since then it has been safe. The Cave of Vulcan was the haunt of terrifying demons, but now, as the Grotta di San Gregorio, it is a summer dormitory for the villagers. *Il Greco* sends the rain and makes the country fertile, drives away the Turk and stills the earthquake. There is something more here than simple enthusiasm for a local patron. There is the antithesis between the 'bad old times' before his patronate, and the good ones since. And this occurring in Calabria, which has passed through its very bad times, suggests that the matrix of this San Gregorio folk-lore lies in one of the eras of recovered secur-

ity and prosperity. The choice seems to lie between the days of the Norman settlement, in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and the heyday of the Aragonese kingdom in the sixteenth. And the winning alternative seems to be determined by the following consideration.

As soon as we ask if any of the folk-lore stories of San Gregorio might be pendants upon any others, it becomes evident that the story of the stilling of storms in the Gulf is connected with the idea of San Gregorio's power in the cave, and not the other way round. Romano's story of the connection of the church *piazza* at Stalletti with the cave is another pendant of the same idea. The application of the Studite's sermon to explain the presence of the Thaumaturge in Calabria is not folk-lore but it is an external pendant upon the folk-lore group. And so the association of the name of San Gregorio with the cave as a new and Christian *numen*, in whose replacement of the old pagan *numina* the banishment of the 'bad old days' was effected, proves to be the nucleus of all. Now this is clearly agonistic and might seem to carry us back as far as Cassiodore. But between the eighth and tenth centuries, Calabria largely relapsed into desert and its remnants of population into virtual paganism. At the end of this period came the Greek monks of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus and took possession of the cave, as part of a young Greek Christian civilization confirmed in prosperity by the Norman conquest. Here, then, is the possible matrix of this optimistic San Gregorio folk-lore. The sixteenth century brought another upgrade, both in material prosperity and in Latin religion, though not unattended with fears and memories of disaster. And in the new rôle of San Gregorio as an ecclesiastical patron and protector we see the rise of a group of protection-stories bearing the mark of their matrix in this period.

So, in conclusion, this history of cultus has revealed nothing as certainly coming from or connected with the saint himself, but much about the ages and people concerned in its maintenance. And in that lies the chief claim of such studies to positive value.

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS AND THE CAESAREAN TEXT OF LUKE¹

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SIR FREDERICK KENYON, in the introduction to his edition of the Chester Beatty Papyrus, points out the strong affinity of the text of this papyrus with 'that segregated by Canon Streeter and others . . . and identified by them with the text of Caesarea.' The object of this article is to raise the question whether or no the same thing applies in the case of the Gospel of Luke. The difficulty of answering the question is caused by the relative scantiness of the mss. authority for the Caesarean text in Luke as compared with Mark. Among the best authorities for the Caesarean text of Mark are W, 28, 565, and the Old Georgian version. In Luke, however, the Caesarean readings in these Greek mss. are very scanty, and the text of the Adysh ms. of the Old Georgian is not yet available. Again, in the case of θ and 700, the Byzantine reviser has left fewer Caesarean readings in Luke (especially towards the latter part of the Gospel) than even in Matthew, and far fewer than in Mark. Accordingly, in the case of a large number of the Chester Beatty readings in Luke we simply do not know whether or no they stood in the Caesarean text. For that reason, the evidence of some of the less important mss. which von Soden classes as belonging to what he calls the I text is worth quoting where possible; but such evidence has to be used with caution, because von Soden wrongly included under the I text both the Caesarean text and the 'Western' (D etc.); and he may have included mss. which retain scattered readings from types of text not otherwise known. Not until some critic has carefully checked the evidence of these less important I mss. against that of the principal authorities for the Caesarean text and the quotations of Origen and Eusebius, can they be quoted with confidence as evidence for the Caesarean text.

¹ I am grateful to Canon Streeter, who kindly read my original draft of this article and made valuable suggestions, which I have incorporated, for the treatment of the evidence.

READINGS IN LUKE, CHAPTERS 9-12, WHERE THE CHESTER BEATTY
PAPYRUS DISAGREES WITH THE TEXTUS RECEPTUS

Luke 9

9,27 γευσονται] γευσωνται	κ B C L	D W	1 700
9,29 προσευχασθαι] προσευξασθαι	κ		1
9,31 εν] εις		D solus	
9,33 επιστατα] διδασκαλε	X 157 213		
9,33 και ante ποιησωμεν] omits			M U 69
9,33 μωσηι μια] μιαν μωσηι	B C 1241	D A	N θ 543 700
9,35 λεγουσα post νεφελης] omits			700
9,36 ουδεν ante ων] omits		D solus	
9,36 εωρακοσι] εωρακαν	B C ² L		21 700
9,38 ανεβοησε] εβοησε	κ B C L 157 1241	D	13 etc., 543 700
9,38 επιβλεψον] επιβλεψαι	B C L 1241	A	θ 13 543
9,38 εστι μοι] μοι εστιν	κ B C L 157 1241	D A	1
9,40 αυτο] αυτον		D	124
9,48 ειπεν αυτοις] — αυτοις	157	D Syr. vet	
9,48 εσται] εστιν	κ B C L Ξ 33	Syr. vet	1 700
9,49 ο Ιωαννης] — ο	B C 1241	D W	13 543
9,49 επιστατα] διδασκαλε	C L Ξ 157		
9,49 επι] εν	κ B L Ξ		1 13 etc., 700
9,49 τα δαιμονια] — τα	κ B C L 1241	D A	θ 1 543 700
9,49 εκωλυσαμεν] εκωλυομεν	κ B L 157 1241		
9,50 και ειπε] ειπεν δε	κ B C L 157 1241	D	1 700
9,51 προσωπον αυτου] — αυτου	B L Ξ		1 700
9,51 εστηριξε] εστηρισεν	B C L Ξ 33 1241		700
9,52 ωστε] ως	κ B		
9,54 μαθηται αυτου] — αυτου	κ B 157 1241		1 700
9,54 ειπον] ειπαν	κ B C L		
9,54 απο] εκ	C 157	D	θ 1 700
9,55.56 omit ως και ηλιας εποιησε	κ B L 157 1241	Syr. vet	700*
9,56 και ειπεν . . . σωσαι] omits	κ B C L Ξ 157	W A	21 565
9,57 εγενετο δε] και	κ B C L Ξ 1241		θ 13 700
9,60 αυτω ο Ιησους] — ο Ιησους	κ B L 1241	D	
9,62 ειπεν δε προς αυτον ο Ιησους]			
ειπεν δε ο Ιησους	B		700

Chapter 10

10,10 εισερχησθε] εισελθητε	κ B C L Ξ 157 1241		1 13 etc., 700
10,11 πολεως υμων] — υμων		W solus	
10,11 εις τους ποδας ημων] — ημων	κ B 157	D	
10,11 ηγγικεν εφ υμας] — εφ υμας	κ B L Ξ 157	D	1
10,12 λεγω δε] — δε	B C L 157 1241	W A	1 13 543 565 700
10,13 βηθσαιδα] βηθσαιδαν	κ	W	θ 1 28 13 etc., 700
10,13 εγενοντο] εγενηθησαν	κ B L 157 1241	D	θ 13 etc., 700
10,14 εσται εν τη κρισει] εσται solum	1241 Orig.	D	

10,15	η εως του ουρανου υφωθηση]					
	μη εως ουρανου υφωθηση	B	D	Syr. vet		
10,17	ο[οβ]	B		D		
10,19	οφειων] των οφειων		157	Orig.	D	
10,20	μαλλον] omits	κ B C L	157 1241	W D A		θ 1 13 543 700
10,21	πνευματι] εν πνευματι		κ L 157		D	
10,21	ουρανου και της γης] —					
	και της γης			Epiph. Tent		
10,22	και στραφεις προς τους					
	μαθητας ειπεν] omits	κ B L	1241		D	1 13 543 700
10,30	ημιθανη τυγχανοντα]					
	ημιθανη solum	κ B L	Ξ 33 1241		D	θ 1 700
10,32	ελθων] omits			D solus		
10,33	ιδων αυτον] — αυτον	κ B L	Ξ 33 1241			1 700
10,35	δυο δηναρια εδωκεν] εδωκεν					
	δυο δηναρια			B solus		
10,36	τις ουν] — ουν		κ B L	Ξ	Syr. vet	1
10,37	ειπεν ουν] ειπεν δε	κ B C	157 1241		D	1 69 543 700
10,38	εγενετο δε εν τω] εν δε τω	κ B L	33 1241			
10,38	εις τον οικον αυτης] omits			B solus		
10,39	η και] — η		κ B ³ L			
10,41	τυρβαζη] θορυβαζη	κ B C L		W D		θ 1

Chapter 11

11,8	αυτου φιλον] φιλον αυτου	κ B C L	157 1241			700
11,11	ο υιος] υς			Orig. Epiph.		
11,12	μη επιδωσει] επιδωσει		B L			
11,13	ο πατηρ] + υμων		C			
	εξ ουρανου] ουραnios			Cyr.		
11,13	πν̄α αγιον] πν̄α αγαθον		L			
11,14	και αυτο ην κωφον] κωφον					
	solum	κ B L	157 1241	A		1
11,15	αρχοντι] τω αρχοντι	κ B C L	157 1241	W		θ 13 etc., 700
11,16	παρ αυτου εξητ. εξ ουρ.] εξ					
	ουρ. εξητ. παρ αυτου	κ B C L	157 1241	A D	1 etc., 13 etc., 700	
11,17	αυτων τα διανοηματα] τα					
	διανοηματα αυτων		157	A		
11,17	διαμερισθεισα] μερισθεισα	C Ψ	157 1241	W		N θ 124 700
11,18	διεμερισθη] εμερισθη		1241	Γ		
11,18	εκβαλλειν με] εκβαλλει			W		
11,21	φυλασσει] φυλασσει		157	D		N 13 etc.
11,22	ο ισχυροτερος] — ο	κ B L	1241	D		θ 700
11,24	οταν] + δε		157 1241	D W		700
11,24	ευρισκον] ευρισκων		1241			13 etc.
11,25	ελθειν] ελθων		C 1241	D		13 etc., 700
11,29	επιζητει] ζητει	κ B L	Ξ	A		
11,29	Ιωνα του προφητου] — του					
	προφητου	κ B L	Ξ	D		

11,31	εγερθησεται εν τη κρισει] — εν τη κρισει		D	
11,31	σολομωντος] σολομωνος	κ B	A D	1 etc., 13 etc.
11,32	νινευιται] νινευειται	κ B C	A W	θ 1 etc., 13 etc.
11,33	ουδεις δε] — δε	κ B C 33 1241	D	U 565 700
11,33	τιθησιν ουδε υπο τον μοδιον] τιθησι solum	L Ξ 1241		1 69 700
11,33	ο οφθαλμος 1 ^ο] + σου	κ B C 1241	A D W	θ 13 etc.
11,34	οταν ουν] οταν	κ B L 1241	D W	
11,34	ολον] παν		D solus	
11,34	εστιν 1 ^ο] εσται	L 1241		1 etc., 13 28
11,34	σκοτεινον] + εσται	1241	K M	θ 13 etc.
11,36	εχον] εχων	1241	G H	13 etc., 700
11,36	τι μερος] μερος τι	B 1241	A W	1 etc., 13 etc., 700
11,37	φαρισαιος τις] — τις	κ B L 157		1 etc., 13 etc., 700
11,38	εβαπτισθη] εβαπτισατο			700
11,40	εξωθεν . . . εσωθεν] εσωθεν . . . εξωθεν	C	D	700
11,41	υμιν εστιν] υμιν εσται			1 etc., 13 etc.
11,42	ταυτα] + δε	κ ^a B C L		θ 13 etc.
11,42	αφienαι] αφienαι	κ solus		
11,44	γραμμ. και φαρ. υποκρ. post ουαι υμιν] omit	κ B C L 1241		1 etc.
11,44	τα μνημεια τα] μνημεια		D W	
11,50	εκχυνομενον] εκκεχυμενον	B 1241		13 543
11,51	απο του] — του	κ B C L 1241	D	1
11,52	αυτοι] και αυτοι	157	D	13 etc.
11,53	λεγοντος δε αυτου ταυτα προς αυτους] κακειθεν εξ ελθοντος αυτου	κ B C L 1241		
11,53	ενεχειν] εχειν		D	124
11,54	και ζητουντες θηρευσαι] θηρευσαι solum	κ B L		θ
11,54	αυτου ινα κατηγορησωσι] αυτου solum	κ B L 1241		

Chapter 12

12,1	ηρξατο] + δε	Γ		69
12,2	συγκεκαλυμμενον] κεκαλυμ- μενον	κ C 1241		
12,5	εμβαλλειν] βαλειν		D W	
12,7	μη ουν] μη	B L 157 1241		
12,9	omit entire verse		Syr. sin	
12,11	προσφερωσιν] εισφερωσιν	κ B L 33 157 1241		fam 1 124 700
12,18	τα γεννηματα] τον σιτον	κ ^a B L 157 1241		famm 1 13 700
12,22	μαθητας αυτου] — αυτου	B 1241		
12,24	αυτους] αυτα		D	fam 13
12,25	πηχυν ενα] — ενα	κ B	D	

12,26	ουτε] ουδε	κ B L 1241		θ fam 1 700
12,28	αμφιεννοσι] αμφιεξει	B L	D	
12,29	η] και	κ B L 157	Syr. vet	
12,31	ταυτα παντα] — παντα	κ B L		
12,43	ποιουντα ουτως] ουτως			
	ποιουντα	κ L 157 1241		fam 13
12,44	αυτου] αυτωι	Γ 157	M P W	θ
12,47	ετοιμασας η ποιησας]			
	ποιησας		D	69
12,50	ου] οτου	κ B L 157 1241	A D	θ N 543 Orig.
12,51	αλλ η] αλλα		D	θ 69 700
12,52	διαμεμερισμενοι τρεις] τρεις			
	διαμεμερισμενοι		D solus	
12,53	διαμερισθησεται] διαμερι-			
	σθησονται	κ B L 157 1241	D	
12,53	— την 1 ^ο] + την	L		θ fam 1 700
12,53	θυγατρι] θυγατερα	κ B L	D	θ fam 1
12,53	επι μητρι] επι την μητερα	B L	D	θ fam 1 700
12,54	— οτι] + οτι	κ B L	A	N θ fam 13
12,55	λεγετε οτι] — οτι	κ* L 157	D	
12,55	εσται] ερχεται	κ* 157		
12,56	της γης και του ουρανου] του			
	ουρανου και της γης	κ ^c L 157 1241	D	N
12,56	τον δε καιρον] πλην τον			
	καιρον	157	D	
12,58	σε παραδω] παραδωσει σε	157 1241	D	

To see the bearing of the above list of 134 readings on the particular question of the relation of the text in Luke in the papyrus to the Caesarean text, it is best to group them not according to mss., but according as they support one or the other of the main types of text which criticism has so far isolated: namely

- (1) Hort's Neutral Text, his restoration of which is the text he actually prints.
- (2) Readings of D where these differ from Hort's text.
- (3) Readings which Hort would call 'Alexandrian.'
- (4) Readings found only in fam θ .

It will be seen that the papyrus agrees with Hort's printed (i.e. Neutral) text 72 times; with D against the Neutral text 28 times; it gives Alexandrian readings 7 times; and Caesarean readings 12 times. (Actually there are only four readings found only in members of fam θ , but I have included eight

other readings where additional support is given from 157, 1241. It is probable that these readings ought to be regarded as Caesarean.)

To test the relation of fam θ to the papyrus we note that 53 of the 72 readings, in which the papyrus agrees with the Neutral text, are found in one or more members of fam θ ; 13 of the 28 D readings; and 2 of the 7 Alexandrian readings.

The conclusion seems to be that the papyrus does not give a text which can be called 'Neutral,' 'Western,' or 'Alexandrian' in any exclusive sense, but one akin to, though not identical with, that found in members of fam θ , the characteristic of which is in Streeter's words, 'not so much the relatively small proportion of readings peculiar to themselves as the specific pattern, so to speak, in which Neutral, Alexandrian, and Western readings are found combined' (HTR, 28, 233). It will be seen that there are in proportion more Neutral readings preserved in members of fam θ in Luke than in Mark. In other words, the distinction between the Neutral and Caesarean text in Luke is less than it is in Mark.

In order to provide a negative test I append a list of passages where members of fam θ differ from the papyrus but where they do not give a Byzantine reading. It will be seen that there are 65 such passages. This shows that the text of the papyrus is by no means to be identified with the text of fam θ . The fact, however, that the number of these passages is only 65 out of the large number of readings quoted points to the general affinity of the text of the papyrus with that of fam θ .

READINGS IN CHAPTERS 9-12 WHERE MEMBERS OF FAM θ DIFFER FROM
THE PAPYRUS EXCEPT WHEN THEY PRESENT A BYZANTINE READING

9.27	ωδε] + αὐτοῦ	1
9.27	εστηκοτων] εστωτων	θ 1 13 565
9.31	εμελλον (per errorem)] ημελλεν	θ
9.32	διεγρηγορησαντες δε] και διαγρηγορησαντες	1 etc.
9.32	τους συνεστωτας] — τους	fam 1
9.33	ο] omit	θ
9.35	φωνη εγενετο] εγενετο φωνη	fam 1
9.37	της ημερας] τη εξης ημερα	fam 1, fam 13
9.39	— και ρησσει] + και ρησσει	θ fam 1
9.46	— το] + το	fam 1

9.50	αυτον] αυτους	fam 13
9.52	κωμην] πολιν	fam 13
9.57	υπαγης] απερχη	fam 1
9.59	απελθοντι πρωτον] απελθοντα πρωτον πρωτον απελθειν	θ famm 1 13
9.62	ειπεν δε ο ιη] ειπε δε ο ις προς αυτον	N θ fam 13 543
9.62	εισβαλλων] επιβαλλων	θ
9.62	αυτου] — αυτου	fam 1
10.12	εν τη ημερα εκεινη ανεκτοτερον εσται] ανεκτ. εστ. εν τη ημε. εκ	fam 13
10.13	καθημεναι] καθημενοι	θ 118
10.14	εσται] + εν ημερα κρισεως	fam 13
10.15	μη εως ουρανου υψωθηση] η εως του ουρ. υψ.	θ fam 1 (exc. 1), fam 13
10.19	δεδωμι (sic)] δεδωκα	fam 1
10.19	ου μη αδικηση] ου μη αδικησει	fam 1
10.20	εγραφη ut videtur] εγγεγραπτai γεγραπτai	fam 1 θ
10.21	πνι] + τω αγιω ο ις ο ις τω πνι τω αγιω ο ις τω πνι	1 θ fam 13
10.36	δοκει σοι πλησιον γεγ.] πλησιον δοκει σοι γεγ.	fam 13
10.39	παρα καθισασα] παρακαθησασα	θ fam 13
10.40	ειπε] ειπον	θ
10.41	ο ks ειπεν αυτη] ο ιησους ειπεν αυτη	θ fam 13
11.8	φιλον αυτου] αυτου φιλος	fam 13
11.8	οσων] οσον	fam 1, fam 13
11.11	us] υιος αυτου	fam 1
11.12	η και εαν] η και	fam 1, fam 13
11.12	αιτηση] αιτησει	fam 1 700
11.13	παν̄ αγαθον] δοματα αγαθα	θ fam 1, fam 13 700
11.19	αυτοι εσονται υμων κριται] αυτοι κριται υμων εσονται	θ 1, fam 13
11.22	διδωσι] διαδωσει	fam 1
11.24	ευρισκων] + τοτε	θ
11.33	κρυπτον] κρυπτην	θ fam 13 565 700
11.33	φεγγος] φως	fam 1, fam 13
11.36	μερος τι] omit τι	θ 700
11.37	ηρωτα] εργατω	θ 543
11.42	αφειναι] παρειναι	fam 13 700
11.52	και αυτοι] αυτοι δε	θ
11.54	θηρευσαι] ζητουντες θηρευσαι	fam 13
12.2	δε] omit	fam 13 565
12.4	αποκτεινοντων] αποκτεινοντων	θ famm 1 13
12.4	περισσοτερων] περισσον	θ
12.5	εξουσian εχοντα] εχοντα εξουσian	θ famm 1 13
12.6	πωλειται] πουλωνται	fam 13
12.7	ηριθμημεναι] + εστιν	θ
12.8	ομολογηση] ομολογησει	θ
12.11	μη μεριμνατε πως] μη μεριμνησητε πως	θ
12.22	υμων] omit	θ fam 1
12.23	η] + γαρ	θ fam 13

12.27	ουδε] οτι ουδε	famm 1 13
12.28	εν αγρω σημ. τον χορ. οντα] τον χορ. σημ. εν αγρω οντα	θ famm 1 13
12.30	ταυτα γαρ παντα] παντα γαρ ταυτα	1, etc.
12.30	επιζητει] επιζητουσιν	fam 13
12.35	υμων αι οσφυνες] αι os. υμων	θ
12.47	ποιησας] ετοιμασας	fam 13
12.49	εις] επι	famm 1 13
12.54	την] omit	famm 1 13
12.56	ου δοκιμαζετε] ουκ οιδατε δοκιμαζειν	θ
12.58	παραδωσει σε] σε παραδωσει	θ fam 13

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